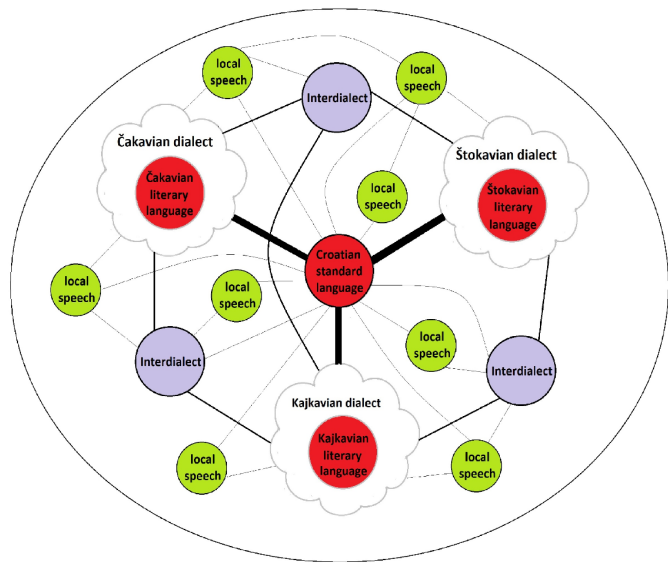


IDENTITIES of mutually intelligible languages - Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, PART 2: historical survey

PART 2

Croatian and Serbian - historical survey



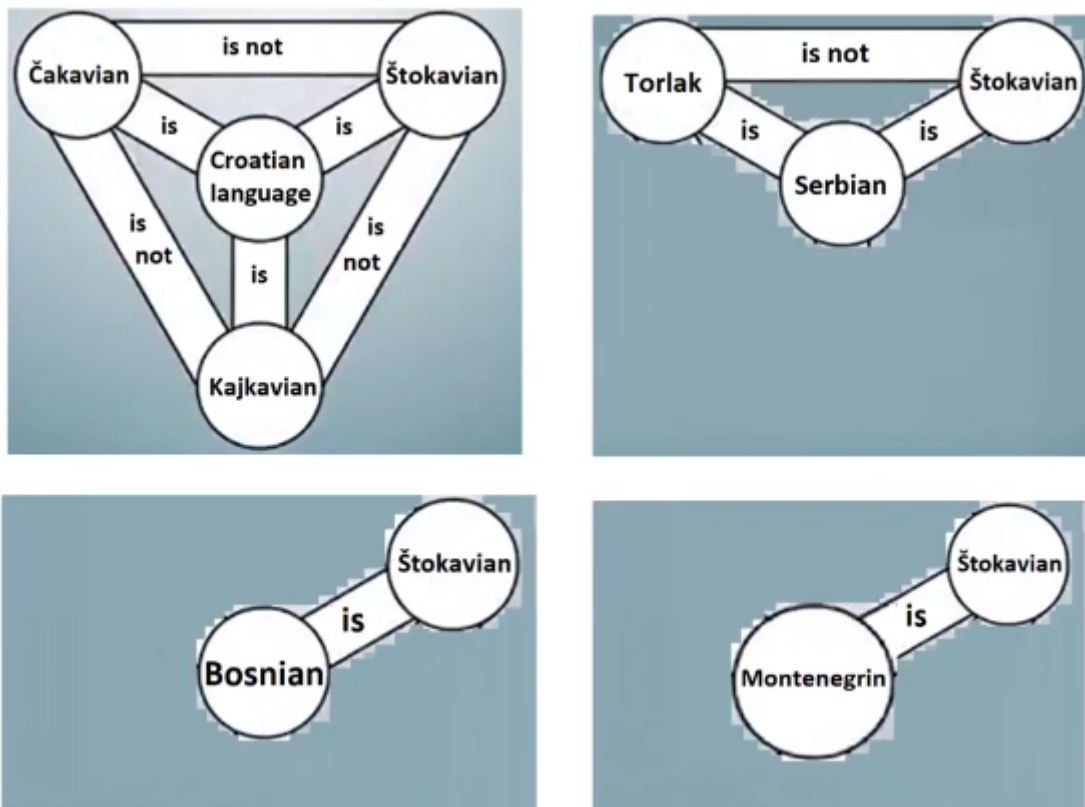
Kroatocentrik
Anonymous Consultant
28th October 2021

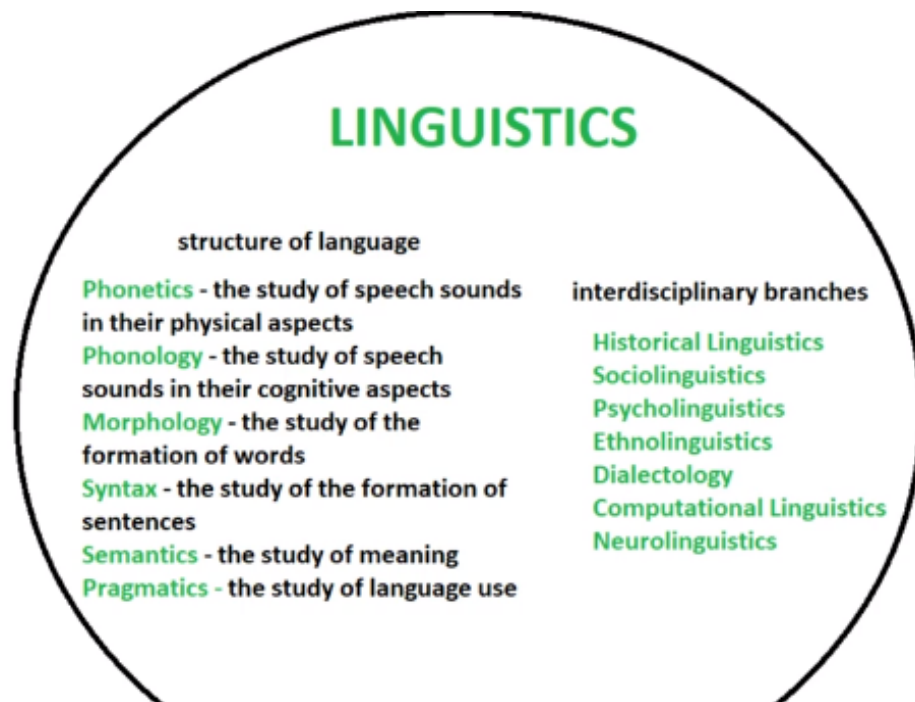
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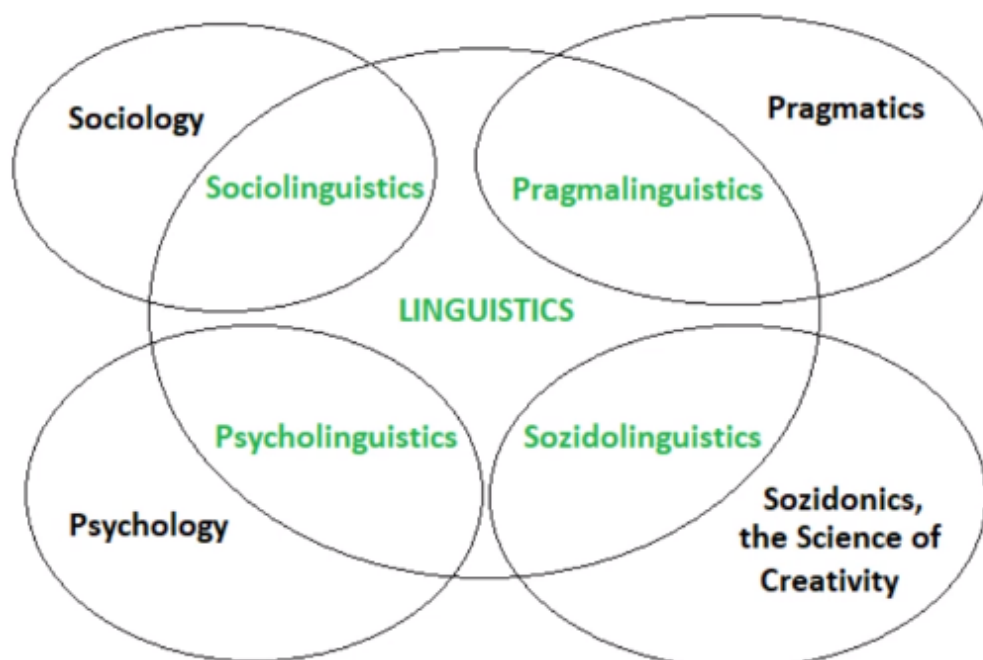
INTRODUCTION

In this video we will try to explain why Croatian and Serbian have, historically, become so close so that many uninformed, or, sometimes, deluded people confound identities of these two languages, and we will omit historical survey of nascent Bosnian and Montenegrin languages, all of which results in recycling of mostly discarded ideological Serbo-Croatian platitudes and reductionist surveys based on elementary language learning primers, as well as being a product of the very nature of linguistics, which is a humanist and soft science without clear and universally accepted criteria for determining the status of languages, and hence not anything decisive in ascertaining whether literary and standard languages are variants of a language or different languages. This is a second part of the video, the first part of which can be seen [here](#).





<https://linguistics.ucsc.edu/about/what-is-linguistics.html>



Alenikov A.G. (2013) Creative Linguistics. In: Carayannis E.G. (eds) Encyclopedia of Creativity, Invention, Innovation and Entrepreneurship. Springer, New York, NY.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-3858-8_12



	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian Slaveno-Serbian
the same name		
communication intelligibility		
the same written corpus		
identity and cultural unity		
standardization at the same place and in the same time		



PART 1

IDENTITIES of mutually intelligible languages CROATIAN AND SERBIAN LINGUISTICS in South-East Europe

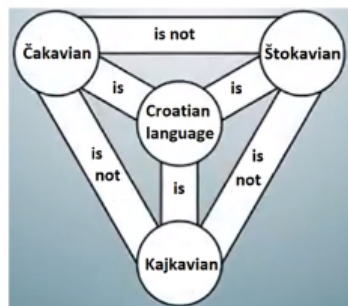


YouTube or Facebook: "IDENTITIES of mutually intelligible languages:
Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin 09/2021
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRVkbOsitwg>

HISTORY OF THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE

Croatian language, in all varieties, has been standardized as an amalgam of Kajkavian, Čakavian and Western Štokavian dialects, Štokavian serving as the axis with its basic grammatical structures (phonology, morphology, word-formation, syntax, lexicon, stylistics, semantics ..). Old Croatian written culture, apart from the one written in Latin, was mostly in the Church Slavonic, as well as in early variants of Čakavian and Štokavian dialects in the 13th and the 14th centuries; the texts were written in Glagolitic, Croatian or Bosnian Cyrillic and Roman scripts.

History of Croatian language



phonology

morphology

word-formation

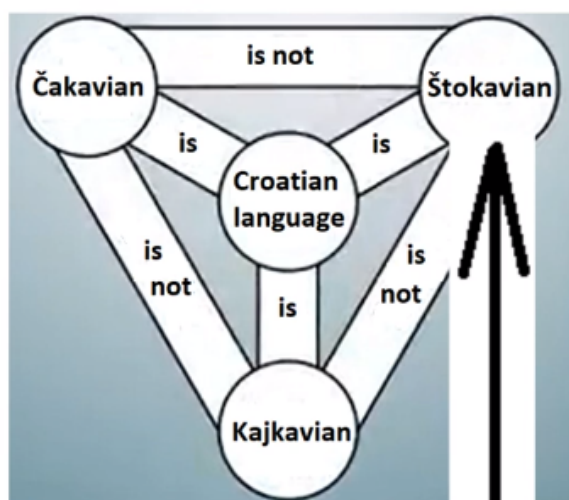
syntax

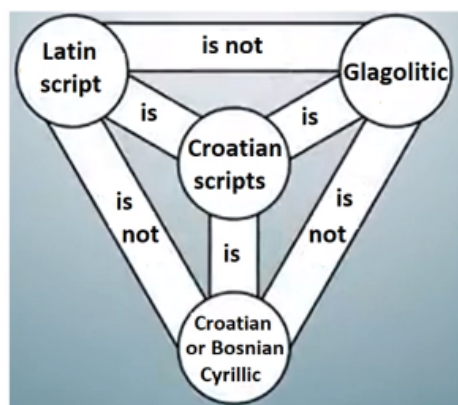
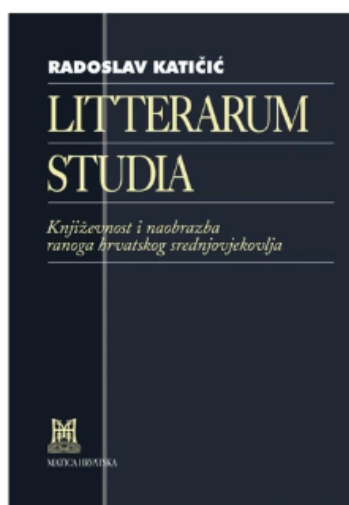
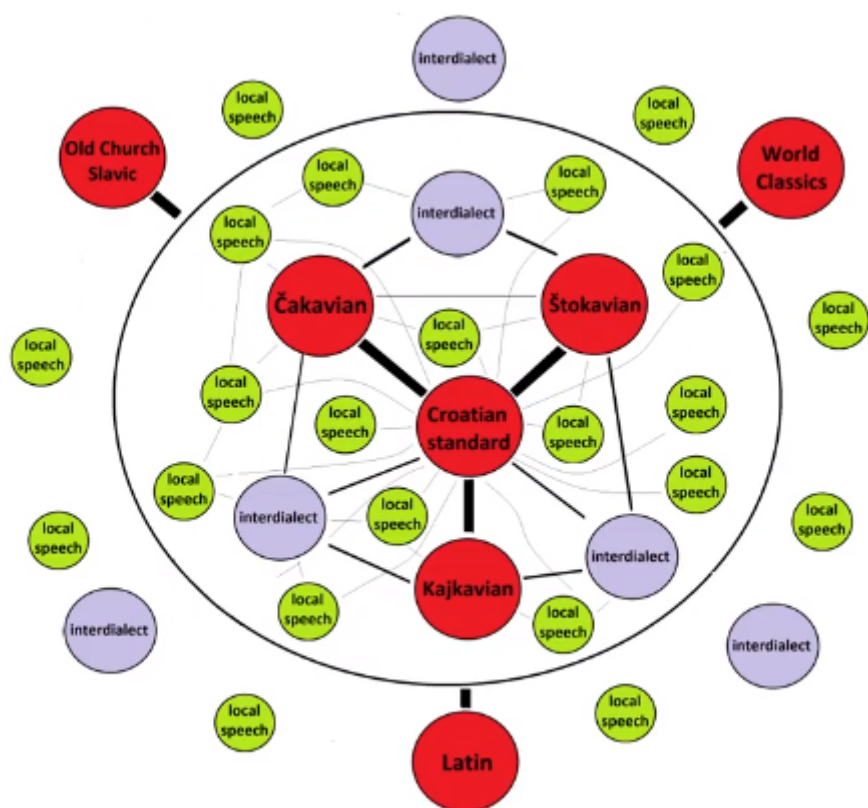
lexicon

stylistics

semantics

Western Štokavian



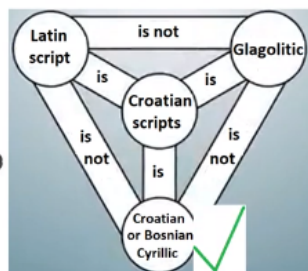
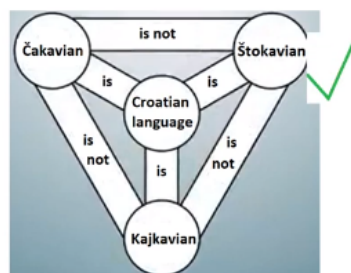


The earliest literary culture on Croatian soil

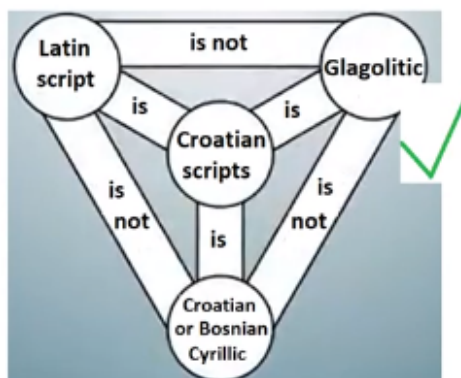
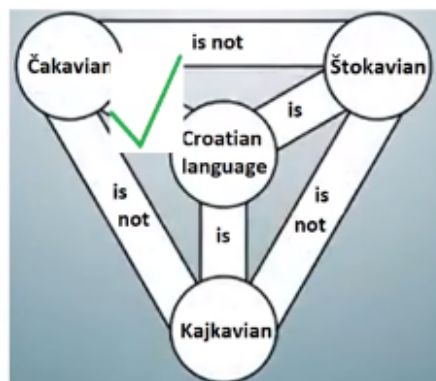
The first Slavic Croatian texts date back to the 10th and the 11th centuries, spanning from the Northwest Croatia around Island Krk and Istria to Bosnia and Dubrovnik in the South and East. They are typically a mixture of Church Slavonic and earlier variants of either Čakavian or Štokavian vernacular.

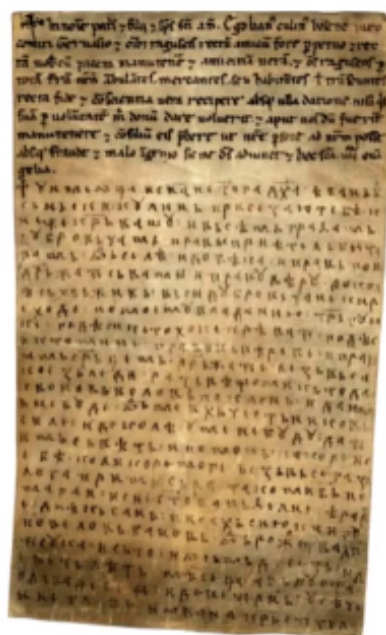


The Humac tablet, ca. 1100, Humac-Ljubuški, Herzegovina, Church Slavonic-Štokavian, Cyrillic

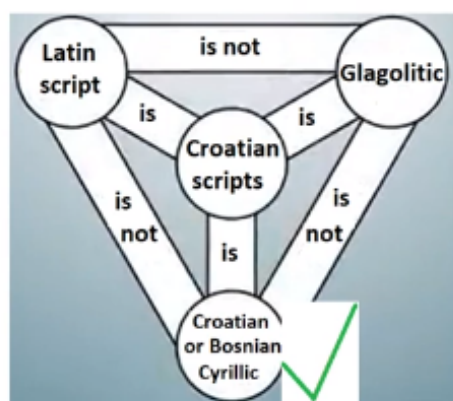
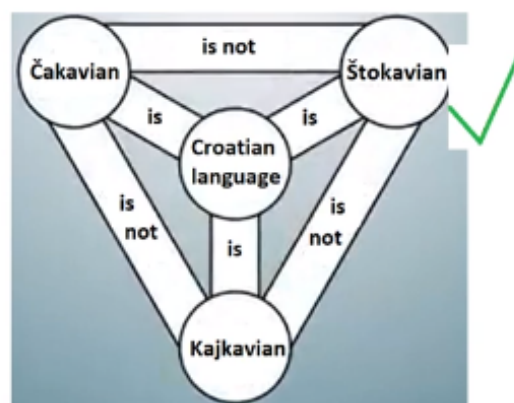


The Baška tablet, ca. 1100, Krk, NW Croatia, Church Slavonic-Čakavian, Glagolitic

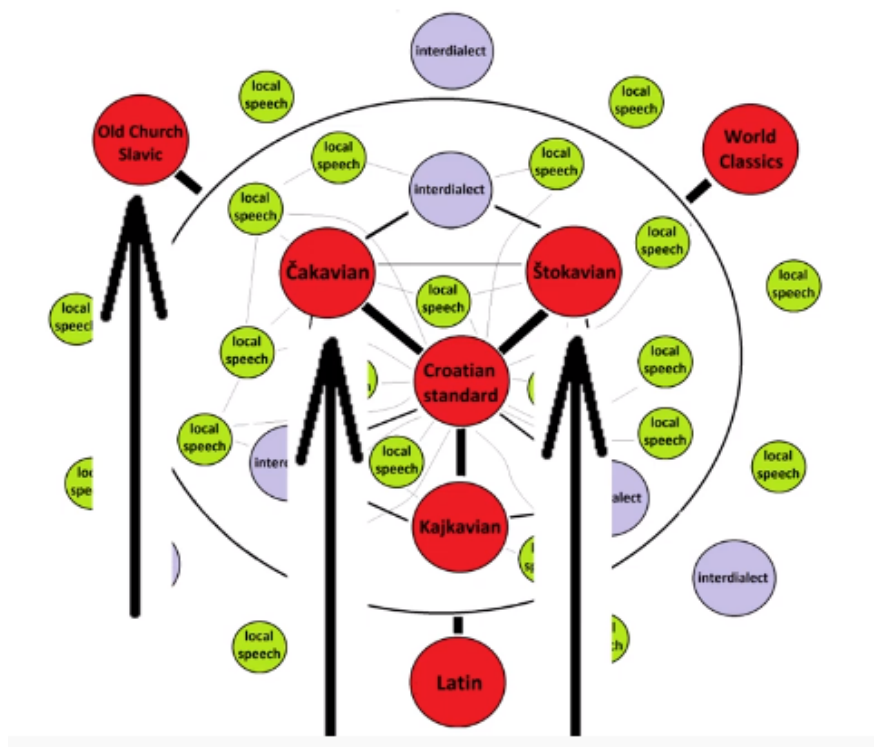




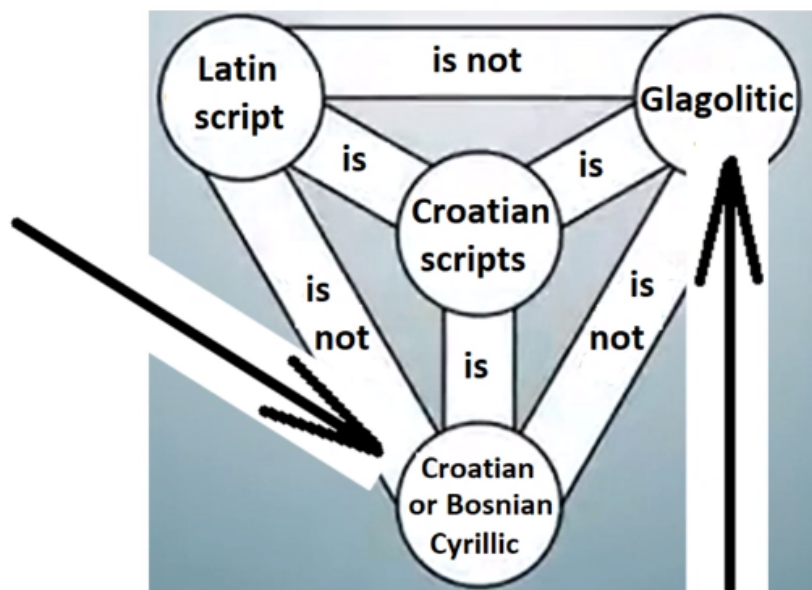
**The Charter of Kulin Ban, 1189,
Bosnia-Dubrovnik, Štokavian-
Church Slavonic, Cyrillic**



Later texts, from the 14th and 15th centuries show prevalence of the vernacular, mostly Čakavian and Štokavian, with sometimes stylistic remnants of Church Slavonic, mostly in grammar.



Glagolitic and Cyrillic Croatian texts are exquisitely presented on the Web pages dedicated to older Croatian literacy: Glagolitic - and Cyrillic. More information on Glagolitic you can find here and on Cyrillic script here.



History of Croatian language

Croatian Glagolitic Script

© by Darko Zubrinic, Zagreb (1995)

In the history of Croatian people three scripts were in use:

1. Croatian Glagolitic Script,
2. [Croatian Cyrillic Script \(bosančica\)](#),
3. [Latin Script](#).

<http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/et03.html>

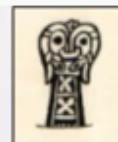
Today the Croats are using exclusively the Latin Script.

The **Arabica** was also in use among the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was in fact the Arabic script used for the Croatian language and it constitutes the so-called **Adjami** or **Aljamiado** literature, similarly as in Spain. Its first sources in Croatia go back to the 15th century. One of the oldest texts is a love song called [Chirvat-türkisi \(Croatian song\)](#) from 1588, written by a certain **Mehmed**. This manuscript is kept in the National Library in Vienna. Except for literature Arabica was also used in religious schools and administration. Of course, it was in much lesser use than other scripts. The last book in Arabica was printed in 1941.

It is important to emphasize that the earliest known texts of Croatian literature written in the Latin script (14th century) have traces of Church-slavonic influences. Hence, Croatian glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin traditions cannot be viewed as separated entities. We know that Middle Age Croatian scriptoria were polygraphic (for example in Zadar and Krk), see [\[Malic, Na izvorima..., pp 35-56\]](#).

Jewels of the Croatian glagolitic culture:

- [five jewels](#)
- [ten jewels](#)
- [twenty jewels](#)
- [thirty jewels](#)
- [hundreds of jewels](#)



History of Croatian language

Croatian Cyrillic Script

<https://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/et04.html>

Darko Zubrinic, Zagreb (1995)

The tradition of the Croatian Cyrillic Script goes back to the 12th century and lasted continuously until the 18th century, with sporadic uses even in the 20th century. Of course, there are incomparably more [Croatian Glagolitic monuments](#) than Cyrillic, not to speak about tremendous [Croatian literature in the Latin Script](#) since the 15th century. However, it is the fact that the Croatian Cyrillic represents an important cultural heritage. This Script was in use among the Croats in Dalmatia (especially in the Split and Makarska hinterland), in the Dubrovnik region and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is interesting that some of the Croatian Catholics, who visited the Vatican in the 17th and 18th century, left their signatures written in the Croatian Cyrillic, which they call expressly the Croatian script.

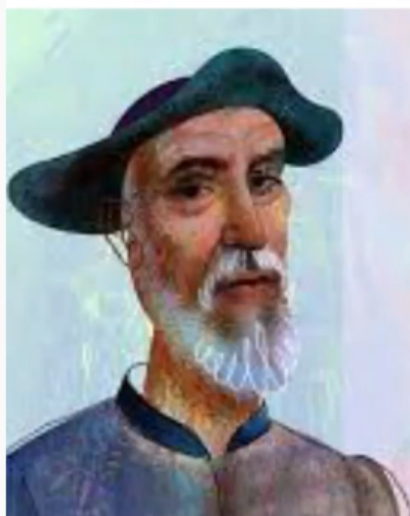
Thus, the Croatian Cyrillic includes the following three major regions:

- Bosnia and Herzegovina, (especially widespread among Bosnian Franciscans),
- the [Poljica Principality](#) (near Split) and Makarska hinterland, as well as islands of the middle Dalmatia (e.g. Brač),
- the region of [Dubrovnik](#), including [Konavle](#).

The name of 'Bosancica' (or 'bosanica') is of a relatively recent provenance - it has been created by a Croat [Ciro Truhelka](#) in 1889, at that time a very young, 24 years old scientist. Its rather misleading name suggests that it has been related exclusively to the territory of Bosnia, which is not true, since it was used in Herzegovina, Dalmatia and on some Croatian islands as well. It is interesting that Croatian Cyrillic, i.e. 'Bosancica', can be seen in Croatian texts written in Istria, see below. The name of 'western Cyrillic', which also appears in the literature, is even more imprecise ('western' with respect to what?). It seems to be appropriate to call this version of the Cyrillic script by the national name of those who used it most and who left the greatest number of written documents, as in the case of other national versions (Bulgarian Cyrillic, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Serbian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Russian). There are also important palaeographic reasons, see [\[Benedikta Zelic-Bucan\]](#). Thus the notions of Croatian Cyrillic and "Bosancica" are equivalent.

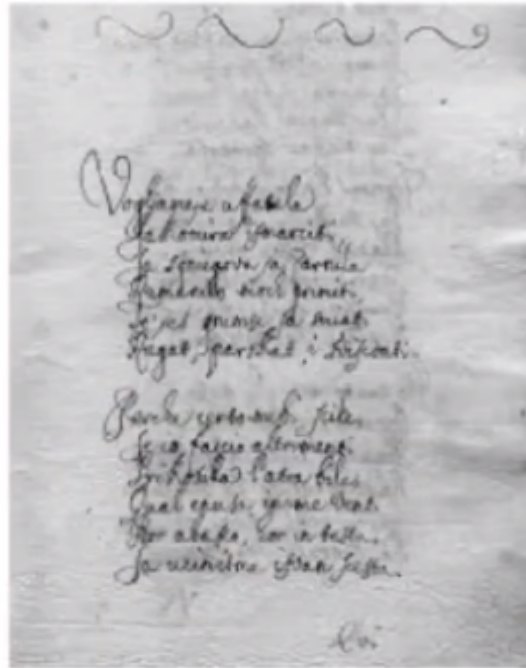
The texts which appeared in the Croatian Renaissance literature in Dubrovnik in the 15th century (Šiško Menčetić and other poets, authors of more than 800 poems represented in the Ranjina miscellany, 1507) were early examples of what was to become future Croatian standard language, but they were confined to just a regional idiom of the southeastern Croatian cultural-language space.

History of Croatian language

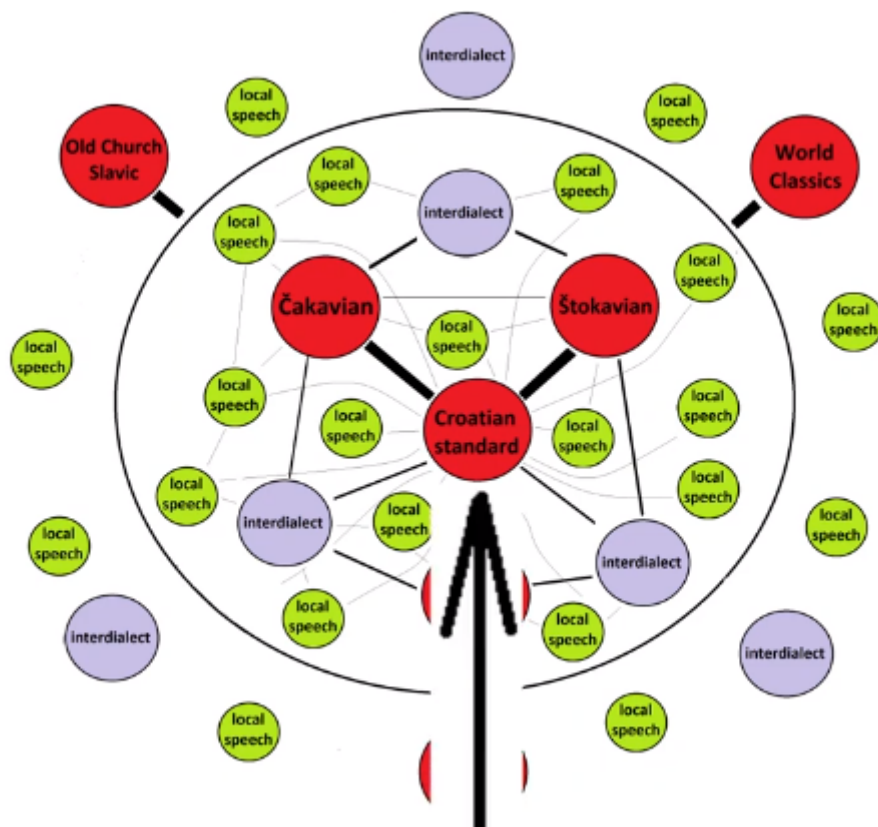


Šišmundo (Šiško) Menčetić
Vlahović (1457 – 1527)



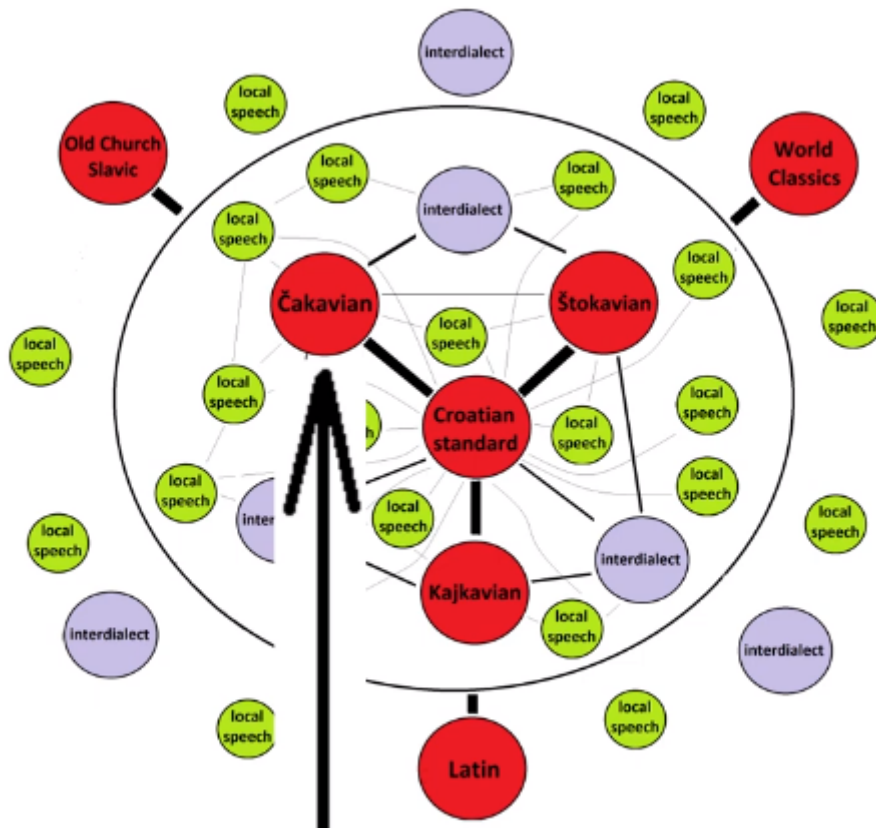


The Ranjina Miscellany, Dubrovnik, 1507



Other centers of Croatian vernacular literacy, mostly in Čakavian, flourished in the 14th and the 15th centuries in Northwestern littoral Croatia, but fell into disuse after the Ottoman invasion in the 15th century, due to mass demographic changes, expulsions, war atrocities and cultural disaster that had befallen those areas. Čakavian-based

secular literature later flourished again in the central and southern Dalmatia, during the golden age of the Croatian literature in the 16th century, where it formed a unity with mostly Štokavian based literature in Dubrovnik.



History of Croatian language





Literature the 16th century

Baroque Slavism

Misal po zakonu
rinskoga dvora

1483

Marko Marulić,
Judita

1501

Marin Držić,
Dundo Maroje

1551

Antun Vramec,
Kronika

1578

17th century

LITERATURE IN THE 16th CENTURY

Zadar

Split

Hvar

Dubrovnik

North West
Croatia

Čakavian

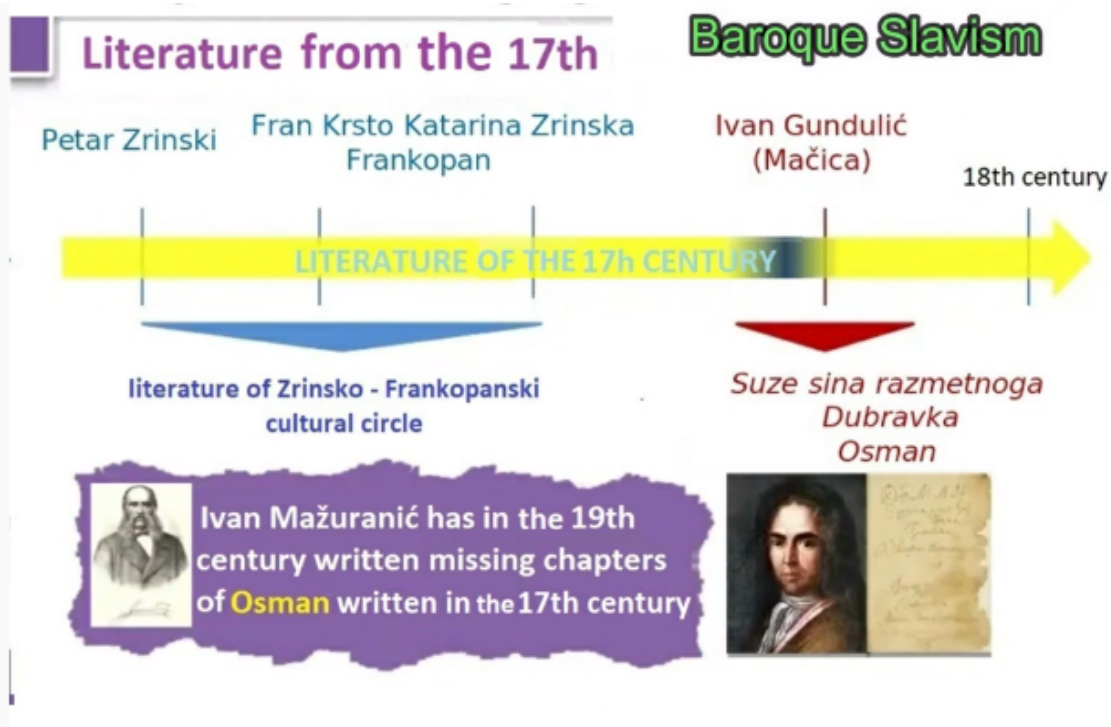
Štokavian

Kajkavian

Croatian literature in the 16th century were written:

Čakavian in Split, Hvar and Zadar, Štokavian in Dubrovnik
and Kajkavian in North West Croatia

The true Croatian standardization has begun in the first half of the 17th century, with Catholic Counter-Reformation in the cultural climate of Baroque Slavism.



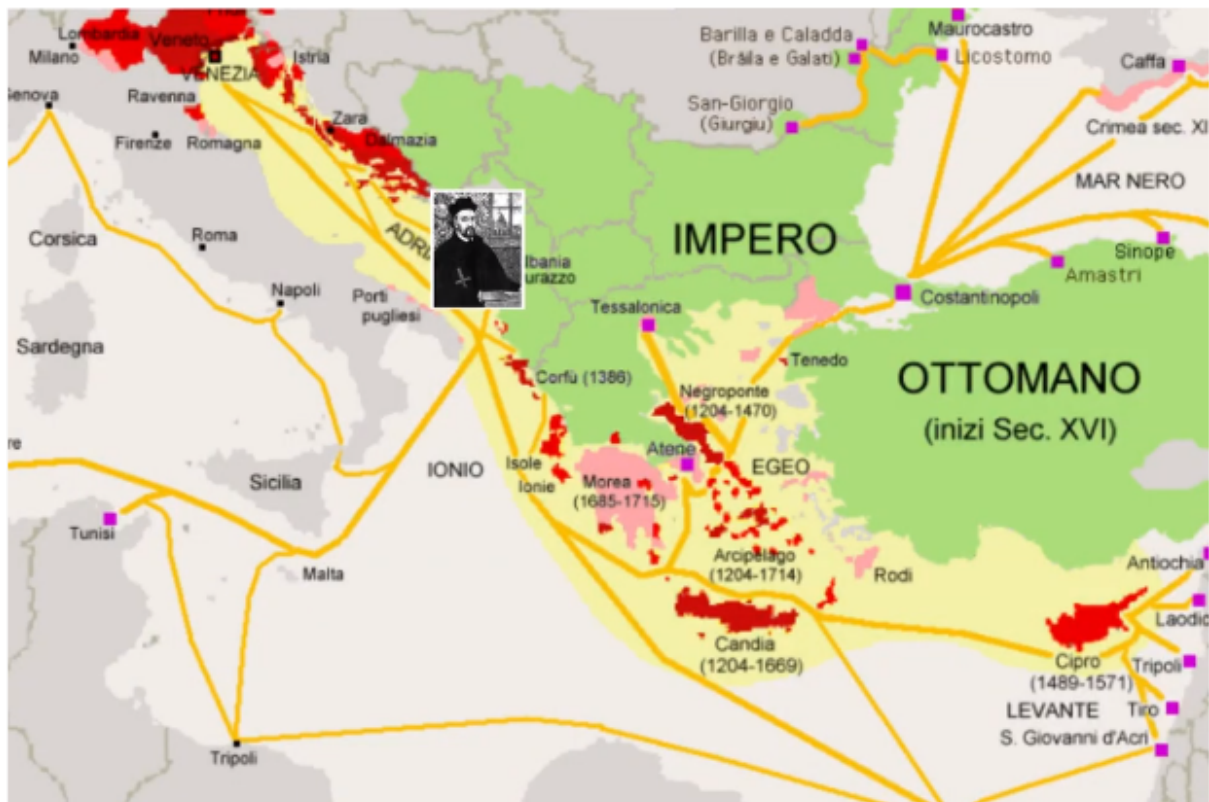
The chief actor in this enterprise was a Jesuit priest Bartol Kašić, whose activity was centered in Dubrovnik, but he also traveled in various other South Slavic lands, mostly under Venetian and Ottoman rule. He wrote the first Croatian grammar in 1604 which was mixture of Štokavian and Čakavian; his complete translation of the Bible in the vernacular of Dubrovnik Štokavian variety was forbidden, because the Vatican had shifted its focus of possible Catholicization to the north, Ukraine and Russia; Kašić's most influential work has remained The Roman Rite, 1640, a liturgical book in usage in most of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1929. Virtually all Croatian grammars until the mid 19th century had been modeled on Kašić's work. His chief supporter was Jakov Mikalja, a Croat from the Italian province of Molise, who compiled a dictionary with 25,000 Croatian entries in 1649.

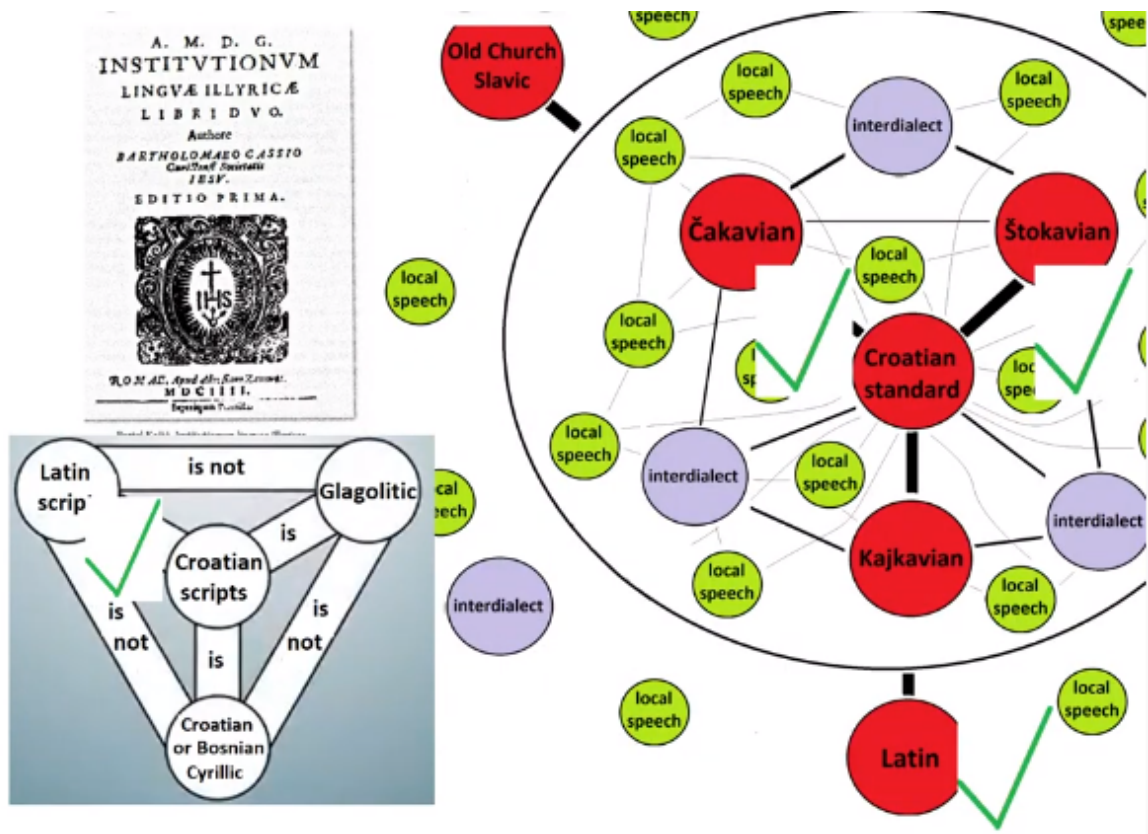


Bartol Kašić
(1575 – 1650)

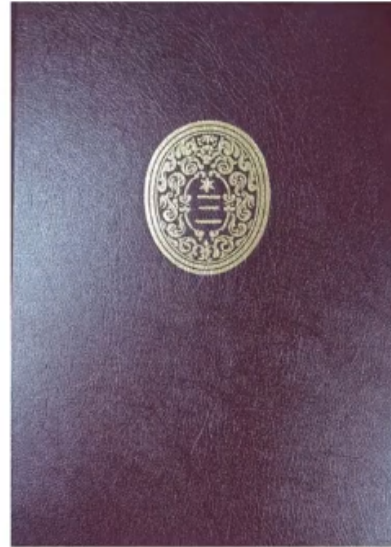


The First Croatian
Grammar, 1604





**Kašić's Bible
Translation,
1622-1633**



reprint 2000

Kašić: Rukopis prijevoda Biblije, 1622. – 1637.

Rukopis prijevoda Biblije



Pjesma treća: Zaručnicu dovode zaručniku B.

Kašić, Pjesan od pjesni Salamunovijeh Prijepis: J. Derossi) Pjesma 4, 1-16 Zaručnik

Koliko si lijepa, prijateljice moja, koliko si lijepa!
Oči tvoje od golubica bez onega što se unutarne taji.
Vlasi tvoji kakono stada od koza, koje su uzišle s gore Galaade. Zubi tvoji
kakono stada od ostriježenijeh koje su uzišle iz okupala sve sa dvojemi :plodijemi; i
neplodna nije meju njimi.
Kakono tračac čerljeni usne tvoje: i besjeden'je tvoje slatko.
Kakono razlomak od šipka, tako lica tvoja, bez onega što se unutarne taji.
Kakono turan Davidov vrat tvoj, koji je sazdan s branami: tisuće štita vise s njega,
sve oružje od jacijeh.
Dvi dojke tvoje kakono dva šteneta od košute, blizanca koja se pasu u lijerijeh.
Dokle sviće dan i prignu se sjena, pojči ću na goru od mire i na glavicu od tamijana.
Sva si lijepa, prijateljice moja, i ockvarnosti nije u tebi.
Dođi s Libana, vjerenico moja, dođi s Libana, dođi: biti ćeš moja okrunjena s verha
od Amana i s verha od Sanira i Hermona, s ložišta od lava, s gora od risova.
Ranila si srce moje u jednomu od očiju tvojijeh i u jednoj kosi od vrata tvoga.



RITVAL RIMSKI

ISTOMACCEN SLOVINSKI

po Bartolomeu Kajsichiu Popu Bogoslovu
od Druxbæ Yefusovæ Peniten-
çiru Apostolskomu.



Roman Rite, 1640

A. M. D. G.
INSTITVTIONVM
LINGVÆ ILLYRICÆ
LIBRI DVO.

Authore

BARTHOLOMAEO CASSIO
Curiæ et Societatis
IESV.

EDITIO PRIMA.



ROMÆ, Apud Elzevirios, Zanchet.
MDCIII.

Superiorem Familiam



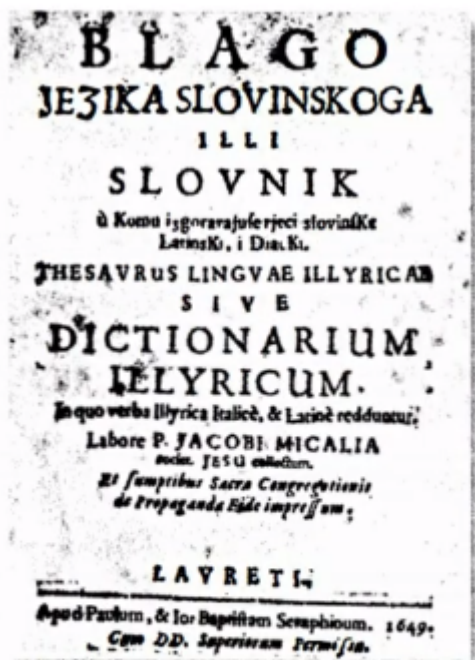
RITVAL RIMSKI

ISTOMACCEN SLOVINSKI

po Bartolomeu Kajsichiu Popu Bogoslovu
od Druxbæ Yefusovæ Peniten-
çiru Apostolskomu.



V R I I M V, Iz Vrietenija Sfer: Skuppa od Razplodyenja
S. Viennæ. 1640.

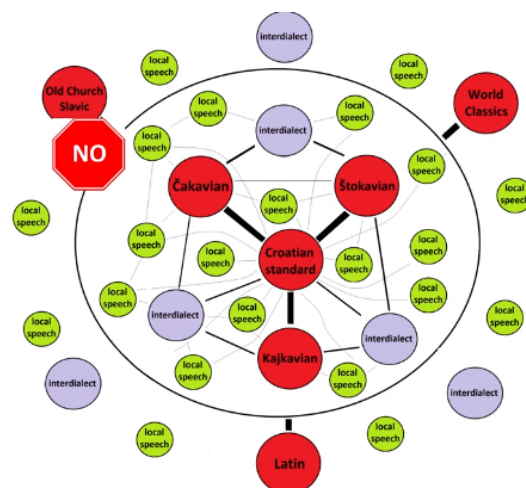
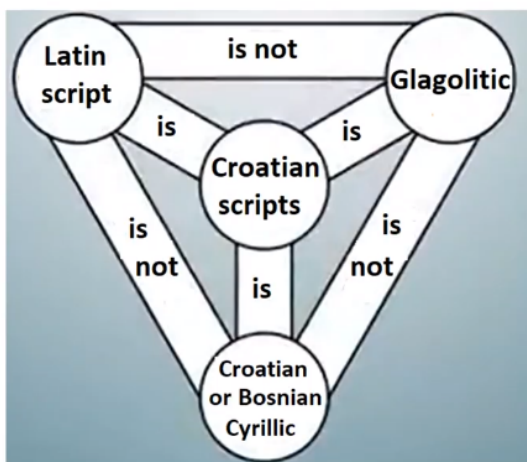


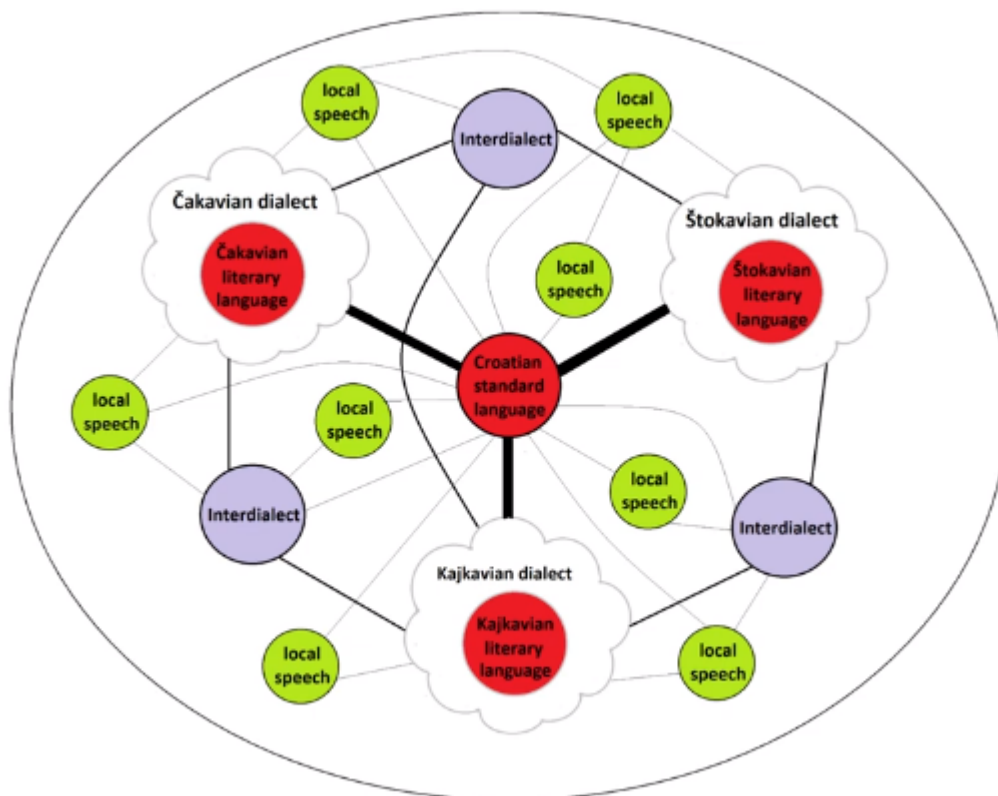
Jakov Mikalja: Blago jezika slovinskoga, 1649



Jakov Mikalja
(1601 -1654)

Until the 18th century, Croatian both sacred and secular literature was written in three scripts: Glagolitic, Croatian or Bosnian Cyrillic and Roman script in two main varieties (in the north and the south), the Roman script beginning to dominate in the 16th and the 17th centuries; also, after texts composed in Croatian recension of Church Slavonic fell into disuse, in Croatian vernacular Čakavian, Štokavian and Kajkavian dialects (Kajkavian texts appeared the last, in the 16th and the 17th centuries), with Čakavian-Štokavian-Kajkavian interdialect in the 17th century, which was cut short with the execution of Croatian nobles Zrinski and Frankopan in 1671, and who supported a standardization on that interdialect.



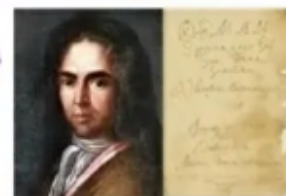


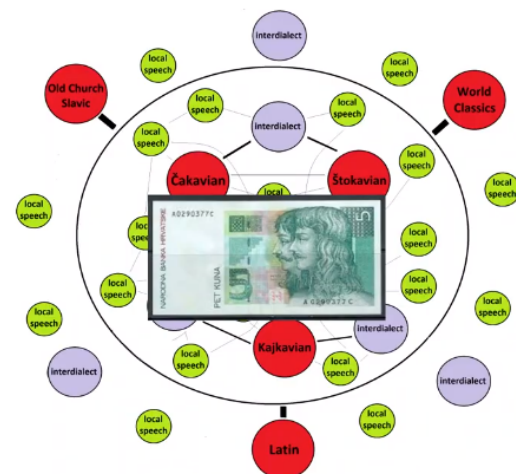
Literature from the 17th century

Hrvatska
Književnica



Ivan Mažuranić has in the 19th century written missing chapters of **Osman** written in the 17th century





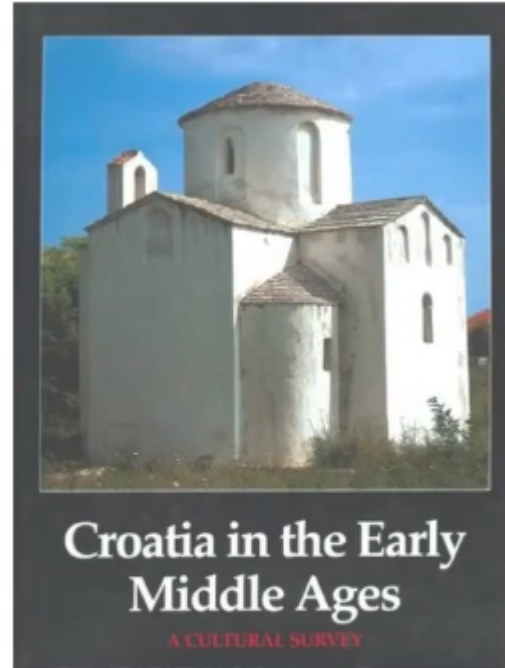
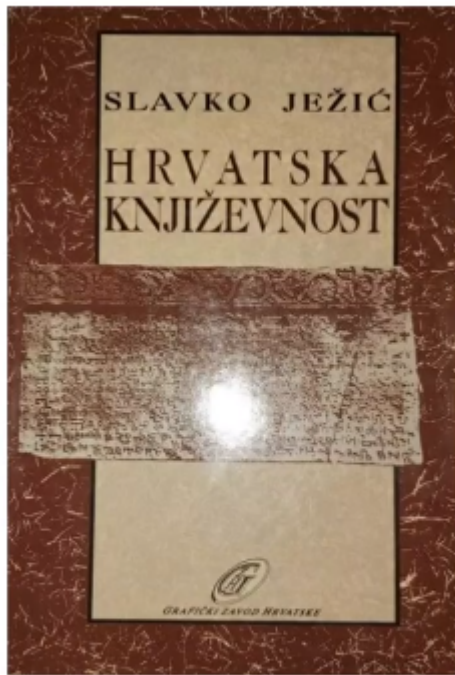
In secular literature (lyric poetry, dramas, epic, novels, pastoral plays,..) from the 15th century on, the Roman script clearly prevailed and remained the only one in usage. The name for Croatian language was Croatian, Illyrian and Slovin, apart from regional names - Bosnian, Dalmatian, Slavonian, Ragusan,...



Croatian literature



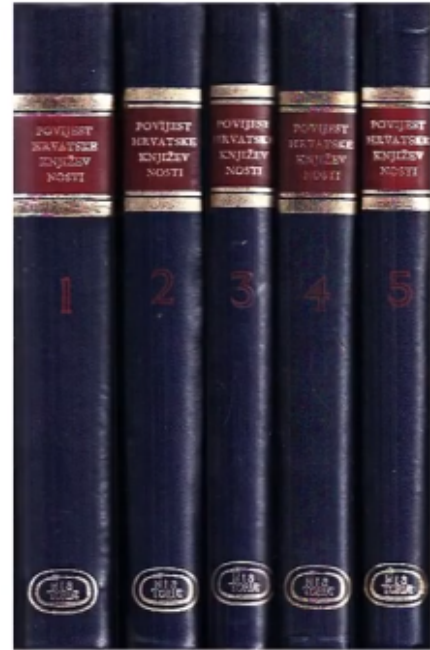
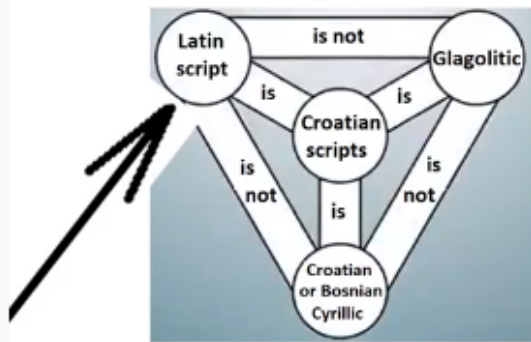
Croatian literature



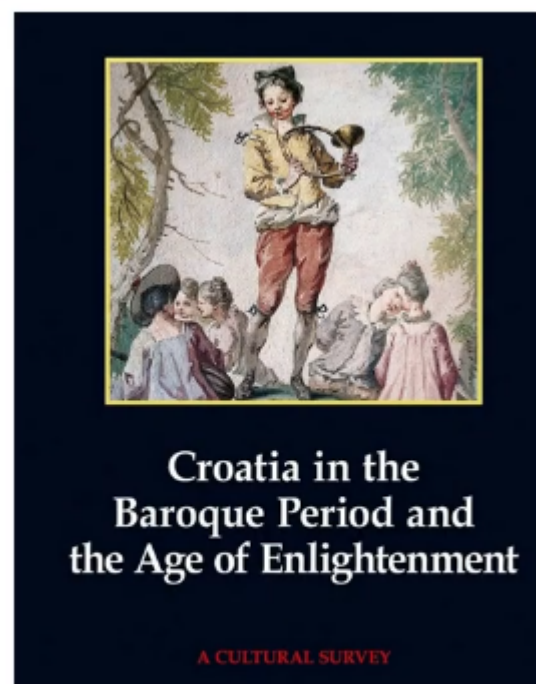
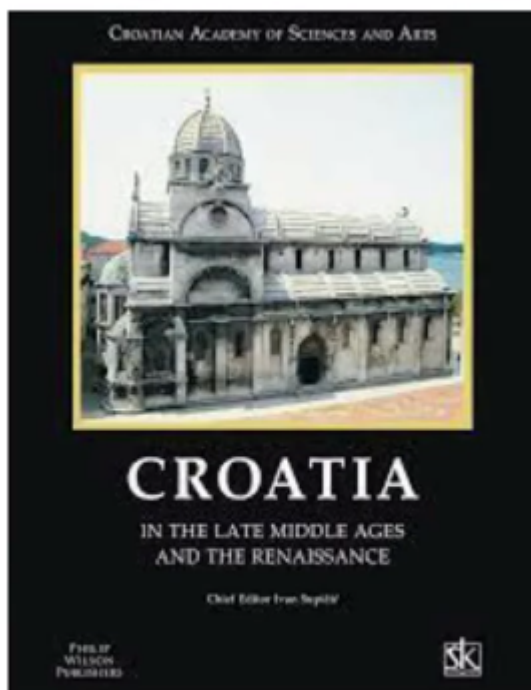
Croatian literature



Croatian literature



Croatian literature



Croatian literature

	Croatian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)
the same name	
communication intelligibility	

As Croatian linguist Brozović, mapping the growth of Croatian standard language, said:
 "The Croatian language has evolved towards its goal throughout its history. Glagolitic and Cyrillic works were composed in the Latin script, but there are no reverse cases. Kajkavian and Čakavian writers wrote in Štokavian, but the reverse is unknown. The Štokavian who were not neo-Štokavian accepted the neo-Štokavian basis, but not the converse. The Ikavian wrote in Ijekavian, but not the other way around. The natural result is Croatian standard language, based on neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialect and written in the Latin script."



Dalibor Brozović
(1927 - 2009)

*"The Croatian language has
evolved towards its goal
throughout its history."*

Glagolitic and Cyrillic => Latin script
Kajkavian and Čakavian => Štokavian
NOT neo-Štokavian => neo-Štokavian
Ikavian => Ijekavian

The entire process of history of Croatian literary, and then standard language, as based on Croatian dialects, can be summarized thus.

Croatian vernacular literary languages based on dialects and Croatian standard language summary:

ČAKAVIAN DIALECT > Čakavian literary monuments, the 12th to 15th century,
Čakavian literary language, the 16th to 18th century
(Marko Marulić, Hanibal Lucić, Petar Zoranić)

ŠTOKAVIAN DIALECT > Štokavian literary monuments, the 12th to 14th centuries,
Štokavian literary language, the 15th to 19th centuries
(Šiško Menčetić, Matija Divković, Ivan Gundulić, Andrija Kačić Miošić, Matija A. Relković, Matija Katančić)

KAJKAVIAN DIALECT > Kajkavian literary monuments the 15th century,
Kajkavian literary language, the 16th to the 19th century
(Antun Vramec, Ivan Pergošić, Juraj Habelić, Franz Kornig)

ČA-ŠTO-KAJ-INTERDIALECT > Interdialect literary languages, the 16th to the 18th
centuries (Croatian Protestants, Zrinski, Frankopan, Ritter Vitezović)

CROATIAN STANDARD LANGUAGE > the foundation in the 16th century, the
standardization process from 1604. to the 19th century (Bartol Kašić,
Jakov Mikalja, Joakim Stullin, Ljudevit Gaj, Ivan Mažuranić,
Bogoslav Šulek, Vatroslav Jagić, Ivan Broz)

Until migrations caused by the Ottoman invasion, Croatian and Serbian language spaces had been rather clearly divided, somewhere west of the Drina river, with Croats and old Bosnians speaking Western Štokavian – green (and Croats Kajkavian-yellow and Čakavian -blue, and Serbs Eastern Štokavian-red and proto-Torlak -brown, an idiom belonging to a Sprachbund with Bulgarian dialects.



HISTORY OF THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE UNTIL OTTOMAN INVASION

Until the 17th to early 18th centuries, Serbian was mostly written in Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, Serbian vernacular appearing only in letters and in other forms of short, private communication. No book was printed in mostly Serbian vernacular.

History of Serbian language until Ottoman invasion



History of Serbian language Aleksandar Mladenović, 2006

The impressive corpus of Serbian medieval literature, as composed from the 12th to the 17th centuries, was written in Church Slavonic with Štokavian dialect features, and it belongs to the Byzantine cultural tradition (hagiographies, chronologies, poems, Byzantine law documents and so on).

Church Slavonic

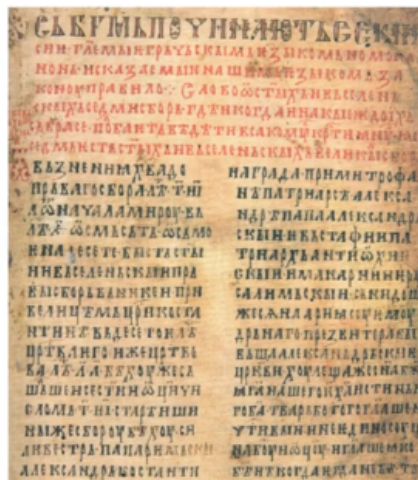
Serbian vernacular appearing only
in letters and in other forms of short,
private communication

No book was printed in mostly
Serbian vernacular

	<div data-bbox="943 734 1023 1025" data-label="Text"> <p>Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1046 741 1190 842" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1198 748 1321 831" data-label="Text"> <p>Dušan's Code</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1075 853 1155 891" data-label="Text"> <p>1349</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1062 891 1166 992" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="1174 920 1331 965" data-label="Text"> <p>Saint Sava</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1023 992 1203 1032" data-label="Text"> <p>1169 - 1236</p> </div>	

MIGRATION OF SERBS AND VLACHS AND CROATIAN-OTTOMAN WARS

After migrations of Serbs, Serbianized and Croatianized Vlachs, Balkan pre-Slavic shepherding populations, Štokavian, both in Croatian and Serbian varieties, expanded in the 16th to the 18th centuries at the expense of Kajkavian and Čakavian, and further evolved and intermingled, with some parts remaining old Štokavian, and others neo-Štokavian, with any one of Štokavian sub-dialects showing its Eastern or Western origin.



**Saint Sava Nomokanon, 1262, Montenegro,
Church Slavonic-Štokavian, Cyrillic**



**Dušan's Code, the 14th century,
Prizren, Serbia-Kosovo,
Church Slavonic-Štokavian, Cyrillic**

Hundred Years' Croatian-Ottoman War

Old Štokavian:

- 33

- old Štokavian Ekavian (Serbian)
- old Eastern Štokavian Ijekavian (Montenegrin, Serb and Bosniak).

Neo-Štokavian:

- Štokavian Ikavian (Croat and Bosniak);
- new Štokavian Ekavian (Serb);
- new Štokavian Ijekavian (Serb, Montenegrin, Croat and Bosniak).

ŠTOKAVIAN Old Štokavian

Old Štokavian Ikavian (Slavonian)
= Croats

Old Western Štokavian Ijekavian
= Bosniaks and Croats

Old Eastern Štokavian Ekavian
= Serbs

Old Eastern Štokavian Ijekavian
= Montenegrins, Serbs and Bosniaks

ŠTOKAVIAN Neo-Štokavian

Štokavian Ikavian
= Croats and Bosniaks

New Štokavian Ekavian
= Serbs

New Štokavian Ijekavian
= Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Bosniaks

SERBIAN LANGUAGE HISTORY AFTER MIGRATION

At the end of the 17th and during the 18th centuries, many Serbs had migrated to the Habsburg lands to flee Ottoman oppression (before that, in the 16th century, they moved westward within Ottoman Bosnia and to the Croatian military border). There, as different from the Turkish case, they were pressured to convert to Catholicism from Eastern Orthodoxy. They resisted by succeeding to attain a form of school system autonomy (different from Catholics), and by importing Russian and Ukrainian books as teaching material from the Russian Empire of Peter and Catherine. Since Russian Slavonic was too distant from most forms of the Serbian vernacular and almost incomprehensible to the majority of educated Serbs, Slaveno-Serbian emerged in the last third of the 18th century as a Serbianized and vernacularized version of Russian Slavonic.

Migrations of Serbs and Vlachs and Croatian-Ottoman War

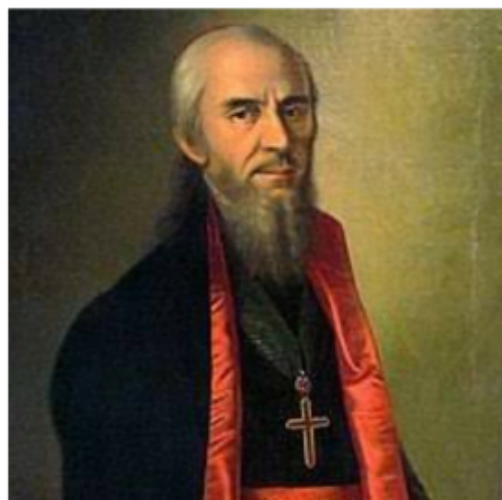


Migrations of Serbs and Vlachs

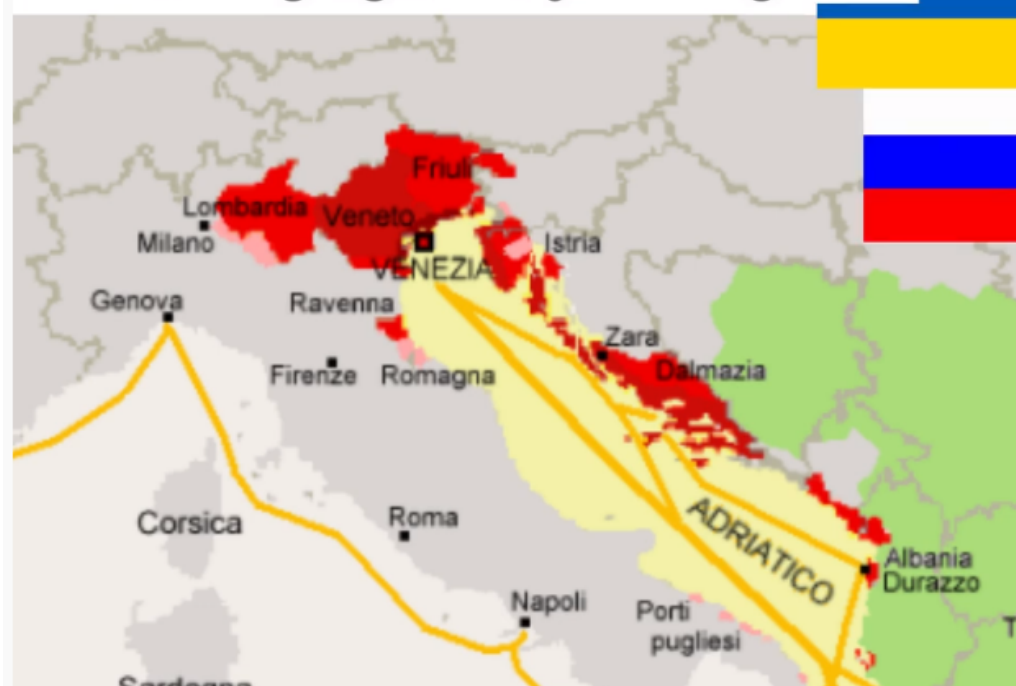
Migrations of Serbs and Vlachs and Croatian-Ottoman War



Serbian language history after migration



Serbian language history after migration



**Russian redaction of
Old Church Slavonic**



1790

Jovan Rajič

www.sima-land.ru

История разных
славенских
народов наипаче
болгар, хорватов
и сербов
Часть 1

И. Раич

**Russian redaction of
Old Church Slavonic**



1790

Jovan Rajič

Slaveno Serbian



1783

**Dositej
Obradović**














So, during the 18th century, there were basically four Serbian language types.

- **Old Serbian Slavonic**, which had been vanishing from usage under pro-Russian pressure, and in which virtually all Serbian medieval literature had been written (Dušan's code, Domentian, Stefan Lazarević's writings, ...).
- **Serbian vernacular**, essentially Eastern Štokavian, confined to private correspondence.
- **Russian-Slavonic**, a heavily Russianized Serbian. Slavonic, still the liturgical language of the Serbian Orthodox Church and barely comprehensible (Josif Rajič, Zahatija Orfelin,...).
- **Slaveno-Serbian**, a more Serbianized form of Russian Slavonic, mostly understandable to educated classes, a sort of via media between the vernacular and the Russified Church language (many works of Dositej Obradović, Aleksej Vezilić, Milovan Vidaković, Lukijan Mušicki, ...).



Given enough time and more favorable cultural and political circumstances, Slaveno Serbian could have been codified as the “natural” Serbian national language, retaining many Church Slavonic and, especially, Ukrainian and Russian intellectual terminology adapted to the Serbian phonetic and morphological structure, and thus remaining instantly recognizable as a culturally Orthodox language. Of course, many Turkish loan-words would have been abandoned and replaced by Slavic ones. Just- history had it otherwise.

Austrian pressure for cultural Catholicization, and that would mean Croatianization in this case, did not subside easily.

CROATIAN	 1846	Ivan Mažuranić	SERBIAN	 1818	Vuk Karadžić	Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic		  1790 Jovan Rajić	 Slavono Serbian  1783 Dositej Obradović
	 1756	Andrija Kačić Miošić							
	 1621	Bartol Kašić							
	 1501	Marko Marulić							
	 1380 - 1400	Croatian Prayer Book							
						Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic		 1349  1169 - 1236	 Code Saint Sava

CROATIZATION OF SERBS IN THE 18TH AND IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In 1792, a meeting was held with Serbian, Croatian and Austrian local authorities to impose in Serbian schools as the chief language source a dictionary written by Franciscan friar from Dubrovnik, Joakim Stulli. This dictionary, containing 80,000 Croatian entries had been composed in Štokavian Ijekavian of Dubrovnik variety, but it also contained many words from Čakavian, Kajkavian and Štokavian Ikavian sources; also, marginally, some Serbian, and even Russian in the spirit of Slavic solidarity. It was written in Roman script, but the plans were made to translate it into Cyrillic. Serbian representatives refused it as the Croatian imposition of a foreign language, insisting that such a dictionary could be of use only for Croats and Dalmatians.

Croatization of Serbs in the 18th and in the 19th century



Croatization of Serbs (in the 18th and the 19th century)

UDK 811.163.42'26
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljen I.VII.2009.
Prihvaćen za tisak 26.X.2009.

Mario Grčević
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JERNEJ KOPITAR KAO STRATEG KARADŽIĆEVE KNJIŽEVNOJEZIČNE REFORME

Jernej je Kopitar u suradnji s austrijskim redarstvom odlučio srpski književni jezik reformirati tako da mu prekine razvojni kontinuitet i da mu nametne hrvatski književnojezični tip kao novu osnovicu. Time je htio prekinuti srpske kulturno-političke veze s Rusijom i pravoslavne Srbe vezati uz katoličke Hrvate. Nakon prihvatanja hrvatskih književnojezičnih zasada od strane Srba posredstvom V. S. Karadžića Hrvatima je trebalo nametnuti Kopitar-Karadžićevu pravoslavno i jeziku temeljenu



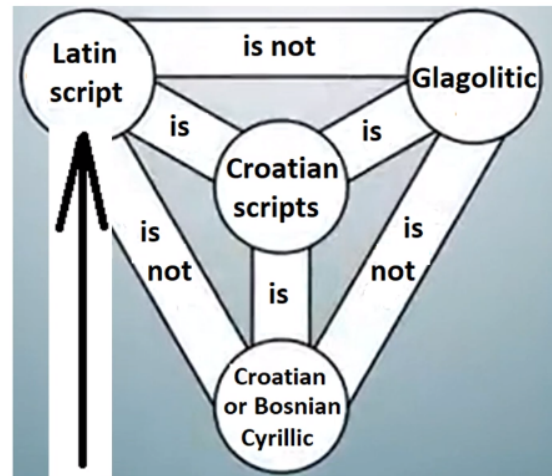
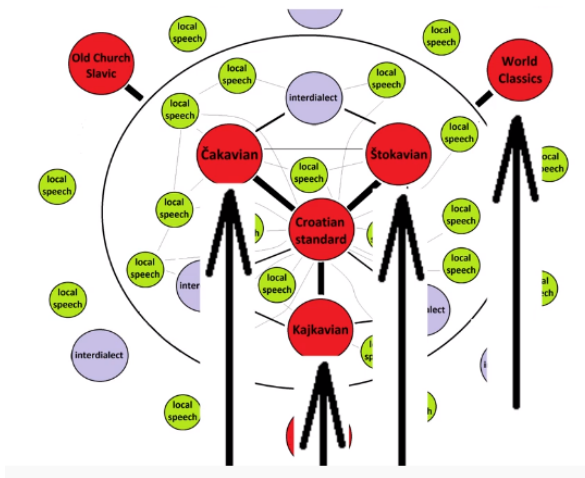
Joakim Stulli: Dictionaries



Joakim Stulli: Dictionaries



Joakim Stulli
(1730 - 1817)



<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">CROATIAN</p> <div>  <p>1846</p> <p>Ivan Mažuranić</p> <p>NO</p> </div> <div>  <p>1756</p> <p>Miošić</p> <p>NO</p> </div> <div>  <p>1621</p> <p>Marko Marulić</p> <p>NO</p> </div> <div>  <p>1501</p> <p>Cyprian of Kherson</p> <p>NO</p> </div> <div>  <p>1380 - 1400</p> <p>Prayer Book</p> </div>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p> <div>  <p>1790</p> <p>Jovan Rajić</p> </div>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Slaveno Serbian</p> <div>  <p>1783</p> <p>Dositej Obradović</p> </div>
	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p> <div>  <p>1349</p> <p>Dušan's Code</p> </div> <div>  <p>1169 - 1236</p> <p>Saint Sava</p> </div>	

They were explicit about it, quotation, *"Slaveno-Serbs cultivated their church language and it developed more and more with them, so now suddenly a much different Croatian language is imposed on them. Therefore, that dictionary would not be convenient for our people either, let alone for other Slavic dialects in our country. The Croatian dialect is in comparison to Slaaveno Serbian, such as Upper German compared to Swabian If this work is to be printed at the expense of the state, then the clerk Petrović must say ex officio that such a work is convenient only for Croats and Dalmatians, because it can only benefit them, and the Slavic people who know only Cyrillic must stay with a vocabulary as that has been so", end of quotation.*



**Croatian, Ragusan
and Štokavian**

***"Slaveno-Serbs cultivated
their church language and
it developed more and more
with them, so now suddenly a
much different Croatian
language is imposed on them.***

**Petar Petrović 1791-92, source: Magarašević Đorđe,
1898, p. 4-6, Iz prošlosti srpske škole, Letopis
Matice srpske, 194**

Austrian authorities abandoned that plan.

Yet, Habsburg authorities hadn't given up. Since in the 1st half of the 19th century, Serbia had been, gradually, becoming an independent country, Austrian sphere of influence should, as Vienna court had planned, extend to that area, too (including Bosnia and Herzegovina in a ramshackle Ottoman Empire), especially geo-strategically important Morava-Vardar valley. That could be done through language, they thought, considering their plans for Catholicization failed.



So they, from the beginning of the 19th century, had been trying to annihilate Russian cultural influence on Serbs by promoting among them a language type already 400 years present in Croatian literature, both sacred and secular, and also prevalent among ordinary, illiterate Serbian Ijekavian speakers, a form of neo-Štokavian. It meant a basic grammar and vocabulary, without historical-cultural layers exemplified in phraseology, higher syntax, intellectual or civilizational vocabulary and specifically Western or Croatian type of phonology and morphology. By destroying Russian and Church Slavonic grammatical and lexical traditions in literary Serbian, they hoped to fuse Serbs and Croats in one people, or at least to culturally unify them, as much as possible, into a pro-Austrian language-cultural entity.

Croatian dominant literary heritage until 1800	
	Joakim Stulli 1805
	Ivan Belostenec 1740
	Matija Antun Relković 1767
	Juraj Habelić 1670
	Ardelio Della Bella 1728
	Matija Divković 1611
	Bartol Kašić 1621
	Marin Držić 1551
	Dinko Zlatarić 1597



Planned changes in Serbian literary language:

phonology, morphology,

word-formation, syntax,

vocabulary, stylistics, semantics

Croatian dominant literary heritage until 1800	Serbian dominant literary heritage until 1800
 Joakim Stulli 1805	 Jovan Rajič 1790
 Ivan Belostenec 1740	 Matija Antun Relković 1767
 Juraj Habdelić 1670	 Aleksije Vezilić 1785
 Matija Divković 1611	 Zaharije Orfelin 1783
 Marin Držić 1551	 Dositej Obradović 1783
 Dinko Zlatarić 1597	

Serbian authors (poets, prose writers, translators, journalists) at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century had tried to codify Serbian-Slavonic as *lingua communis* for all Serbs, but that endeavor failed due to numerous historical circumstances. Such a language type would have been somewhat understandable to most Croats, but because of its strong national-cultural individualization in vocabulary, morphology, stylistics and the whole cultural atmosphere – alien in most areas. From contemporary Serbian point of view, these currents are described in modern Serbian linguists texts.

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian Slaveno-Serbian
the same name	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
communication intelligibility	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
the same written corpus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
identity and cultural unity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
standardization at the same place and in the same time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

attempt to standardize
Serbian



Lukijan Mušicki
(1777 – 1837)

Slaveno Serbian



1783



Milovan Vidaković
(1780–1841)

The central figure in the endeavor of gradual Westernization and cultural de-Russification of Serbs was the influential Austrian censor for all Slavic books, Jernej Kopitar (himself a Slovene). He was formed in the nascent field of Slavic studies (Dobrovsky, Šafarik, Kollar, ..) and being a devout Catholic, he tried to re-shape languages of Serbs (successfully) and Ukrainians (unsuccessfully); also, and as an Austro- Slovene nationalist, to appropriate Croatian Kajkavian literature.



Jernej Kopitar
(1780 - 1844)



Josef Dobrovský
(1753 - 1829)



Pavel Josef Šafařík
(1795 – 1861)

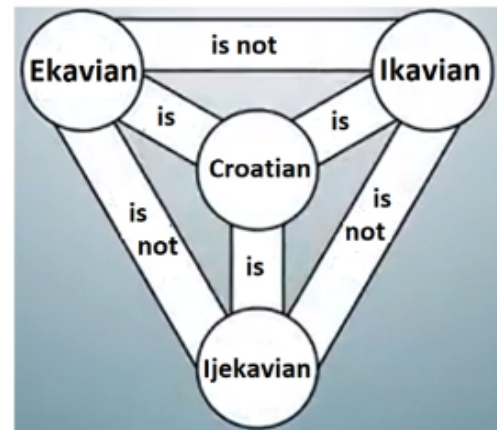


Thus, in the beginning of the 19th century, there were, basically, two vernacular literary Croatian languages: one prevalent in North-Western Croatia around Zagreb and Kajkavian-based and the other, Štokavian based, both in Ikavian and Ljekavian forms being yat reflexes as seen in the screen: light could be written in Ekavian, Ikavian and Ljekavian forms as follows: svetlost/svitlost/svjetlost) in all other parts of Croatia, Bosnia, parts of Montenegro and southern Hungary; there was one quasi-vernacular Serbian literary language, Slaveno-Serbian, Štokavian-based, Ekavian, but with a strong Church Slavonic and Russian features in grammar and lexicon.

svetlost (Ekavian)

svitlost (Ikavian)

svjetlost (Ljekavian)

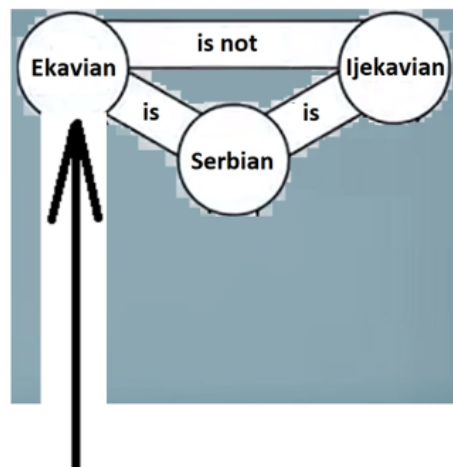


Slaveno Serbian



1783

Dositej
Obradović



Kopitar had found a refugee from Serbia, Vuk Karadžić and educated him on language matters, enticing him to write Serbian grammar, dictionary and to collect Serbian folk songs, folk tales, proverbs and so on.



Jernej Kopitar
(1780 - 1844)



Vuk Stefanović Karadžić
(1787 – 1864)

Karadžić's activity had two sources:

first, as evidenced from Karadžić's explicit statements, Croatian language heritage, (quotatio):

"I have taken upon myself to make a dictionary which will answer all these needs...It will contain all the Serbian words which can be found in the dictionaries of Kurkbek (which is Serbian in name only), Dellabella, Belostenec, Jambrešić, Stulli and Hajm. It will also contain a third of true Serbian words which are not found in any of these dictionaries....",

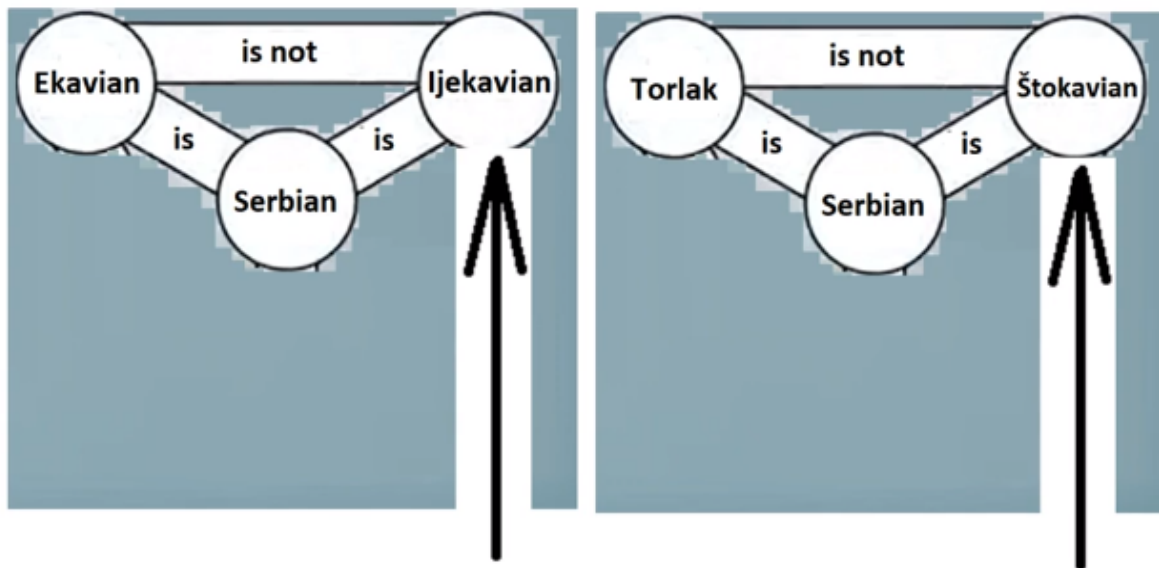
Vuk Karadžić, Collected Works, Belgrade 1966, "Announcement concerning the Serbian dictionary", 1818;

"..... The poems were written down as I heard them from the mouths of Serbian men and women.... I hope I shall be forgiven for writing some of them in the dialect of Herzegovina and others in that of Srem. I did it for the following reason: if I had put them down in root orthography, which would have been the most correct for both sides everyone would have said that they were folk songs ... If I had written everything in Herzegovinian, the people of Srem (especially townspeople) would have objected that I wanted to impose the Croatian language", end of quotation, and,

second, folk idiom of mostly Serbian Orthodox peasants living in Štokavian Ijekavian areas.

Karadžić had begun writing in the Štokavian Ijekavian, until then completely outside of Serbian literary culture (even Serbs who were indigenous Ijekavian speakers wrote in Ekavian as the literary language) which was seen by the dominant Serbian intelligentsia as a Croatian or Catholic imposition; Karadžić followed, in his scriptory reform, Serbian monk Mrkalj's ideas regarding simplification of Serbian spelling; he purged his language

type of vast amounts of Russian, or even Serbian intellectual neologisms present in earlier centuries. This all was undertaken in the climate of Romantic nationalism which extolled illiterate people as the true fountainhead of national "spirit" and devalued educated classes.

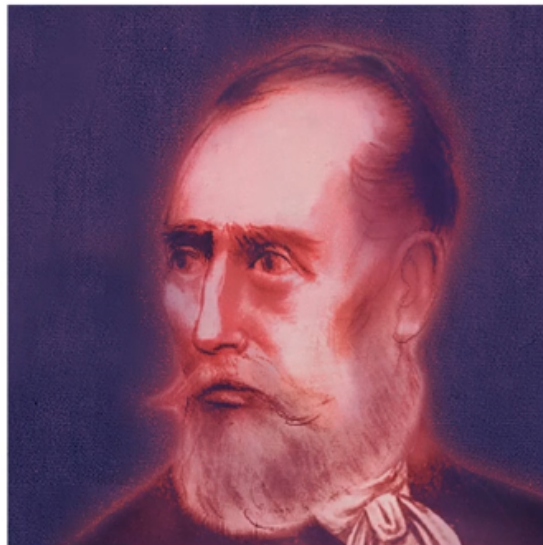


а б в г д е ж з и к л м н
о п р с т у ф х ѿ ц ч ш щ
ъ ы ь ё ю ѡ ѱ Ѳ ѳ ѵ

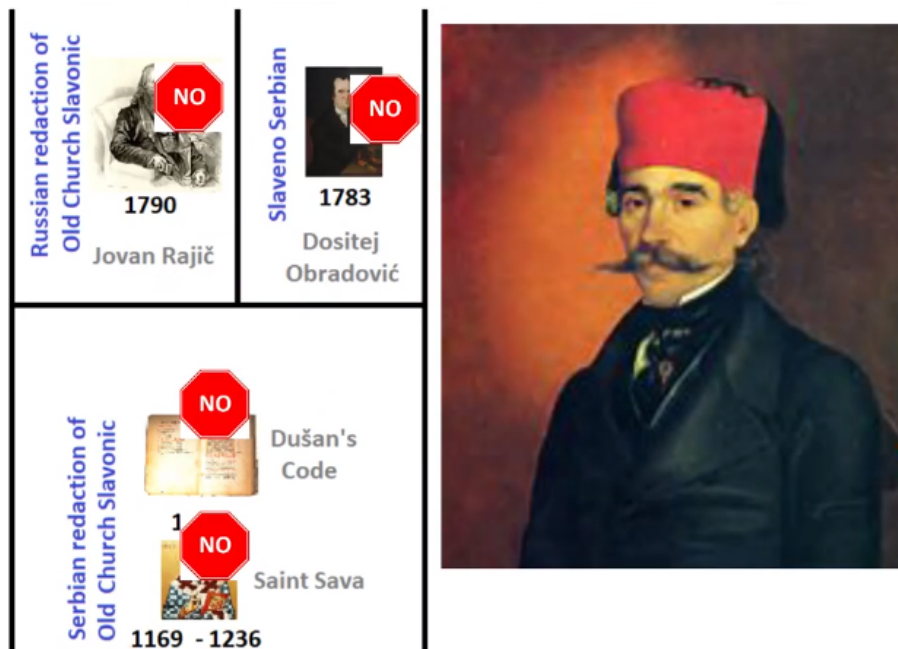
Стара азбука

а	б	в	г	д	дь
е	ж	з	и	і	к
л	ль	м	н	нь	о
п	р	с	т	ть	у
ф	х	ц	ч		ш

Мркаљева реформисана азбука



Sava Mrkalj
(1783 - 1833)

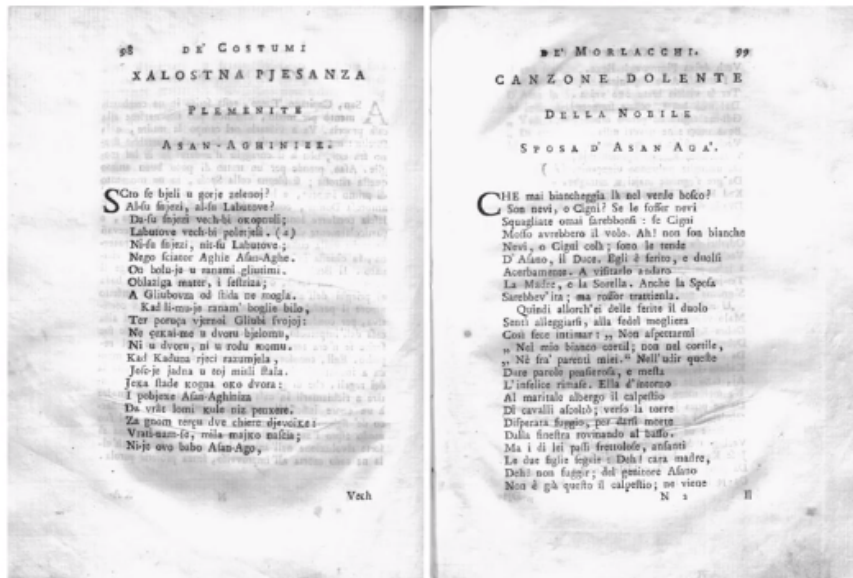


His chief work, after Serbian grammar, was his Serbian dictionary from 1818 (with 26,270 words), followed by numerous collections of folk poetry, tales and proverbs, a part of which- some poems and especially proverbs- were actually of Croatian origin, written down by Jesuit Dubrovnik lexicographer Della Bella in 1728, something which a Croatian Jesuit philologist Franjo Galinec has shown in his 1944.



Vuk Karadžić:
Srpski rječnik, 1818





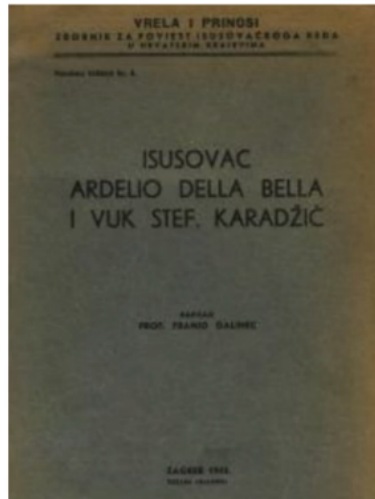
Asanaginica (Hasanaginica), Alberto Fortis, 1774



Dictionary 1728



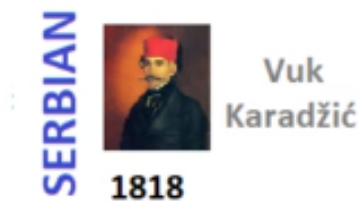
Ardelio Della Bella (1655 - 1737)



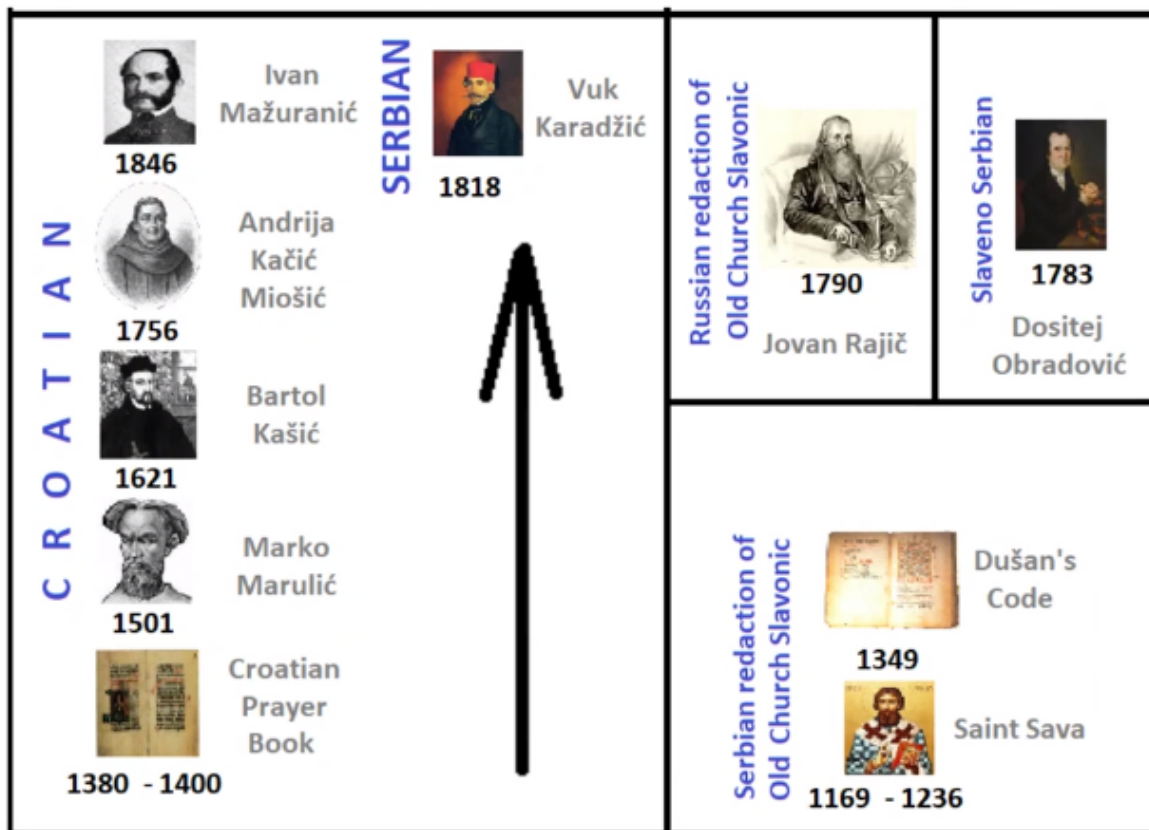
Franjo Galinec
(1887 - 1945)

1944

Here, one should address a sensitive issue, that of Croatian influence on Karadžić's work. Apart from his early explicit statements, Karadžić was mostly silent about the topic, and his followers among Serbian philologists even more. According to them, Karadžić's work was basically that of an autodidact who learned the essentials of contemporary philology from Kopitar and in the next few decades had been wandering among Štokavian Orthodox peasants, mostly Ijekavian, writing down their poems, proverbs and folk tales. This story is a myth.



Croatization of Serbs (in the 18th and the 19th century)



“Serbian folk poems”,
Collected works,
Belgrade 1891: 11, p. 15



CROATIAN		Ivan Mažuranić	SERBIAN		Vuk Karadžić
	1846			1818	
		Andrija Kačić Miošić			
	1756				
		Bartol Kašić			
1621					
	Marko Marulić				
1501					
	Croatian Prayer Book				
1380 - 1400					



Karadžić's activity as a language reformer lasted half a century, from 1814 (when he wrote the first Serbian grammar) until 1864, his death. The crucial work is his "Serbian Dictionary", 1818, followed by numerous collections of poems and proverbs; the mature form of that language type can be seen in his translation of New Testament in 1847. His principal work, the 1818 Dictionary, was a joint enterprise with Kopitar.











CROATIAN		Ivan Mažuranić	SERBIAN		Vuk Karadžić	
	1846			1818		
		Andrija Kačić Miošić				
	1756					
		Bartol Kašić				
1621						
	Marko Marulić					
1501						
	Croatian Prayer Book					
1380 - 1400		Vuk Karadžić: Pismenica serbskoga jezika, 1814	Vuk Karadžić: Srpski rječnik, 1818	The New Testament, Vuk Karadžić's Translation, 1847		

They devised a functional and simple new Serbian script, following the work of the monk Mrkalj; also, they introduced into Serbian a mostly phonemic orthography- until then, virtually absent in Serbian literature and dominant in Croatian literary heritage until the 19th century.



Also, they introduced not few words from earlier Croatian dictionaries, from Vrančić's in 1595 to Stulli's, published from 1801 to 1810, but conceptually defined and written decades earlier. Those who advance the thesis that Karadžić had simply transcribed older Croatian dictionaries point out that many Serbian words one can find in his dictionary are not to be found in other Serbian sources, including Slaveno-Serbian literature and journals; also, that virtually all his orthographic principles are present only in Croatian Čakavian and Štokavian literary sources he had access to via Kopitar; his sentences' rhythm or syntax are also to be found in Croatian sources.

CROATIAN		SERBIAN	
 1846	Ivan Mažuranić	 1818	Vuk Karadžić
 1756	Andrija Kačić Miošić		
 1621	Bartol Kašić		
 1501	Marko Marulić		
 1380 - 1400	Croatian Prayer Book	Dictionary, Faust Vrančić, 1595	Dictionary, Joakim Stulli 1805

CROATIAN		SERBIAN	
 1846	Ivan Mažuranić	 1818	Vuk Karadžić
 1756	Andrija Kačić Miošić	 1783	Dositej Obradović
 1621	Bartol Kašić	 1169 - 1236	Saint Sava
 1501	Marko Marulić	 1349	Dušan's Code
 1380 - 1400	Croatian Prayer Book	 1169 - 1236	Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic

Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic
 Slaveno Serbian

Karadžić himself did not hide this, quotation, "Serbs with writing in the vernacular "had not started before the second half of the eighteenth century while the brothers of the Roman Rite, especially the people of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia, had been writing in the sixteenth century intensely in the extreme!!" and that "it is difficult to find among other Slavic peoples a writer who could compare with them", end of quotation.

***"Serbs with writing in the vernacular
had not started before the second
half of the eighteenth century while
the brothers of the Roman Rite,
especially the people of Dubrovnik
and Dalmatia, had been writing in
the 16th century intensely in the
extreme!! and that***

***"It is difficult to find among other
Slavic peoples a writer who could
compare with them"***



Collected grammatical and polemical writings, Belgrade 1896, tome 3, p. 260

On the other hand, he had not used, in his first dictionary, ordinary phonemes like h and f, present in all Croatian dictionaries (thus, he couldn't write such ordinary words which are in English "to will", "courageous" or "fine"); also, he overburdened his dictionary with numerous Turkish or Oriental-Islamic loan-words, which constitute perhaps 10% of all words- another feature absent in Croatian writing and lexicography; and, most importantly, he prescribed a very significant grammatical feature, so called secondary palatalization before short reflexes of yat and which is characteristic of Serbian and Montenegrin rural speeches, but is absent from Croatian Ijekavian speeches and literature in particular.



h, f

“to will”,
“courageous”
or “fine”

Vuk Karadžić: Serbian dictionary, 1818





So, although he did use some words from Croatian sources, especially dictionaries, his language type until the early 1840s remained modeled on mostly rural eastern Serbian and Montenegrin speech. Later, he modified his model by introducing h and by abandoning secondary palatalization, under the influence of Dubrovnik speech and other Croatian literary sources, thus making his language type acceptable for Croats, too, because they had been using such a language type for centuries, although in a richer and more nuanced forms, from phraseology to syntax and stylistics.

Karadžić until the 1840s

- ćerati, djevojka


Croatian authors from the 1400s on,

always— tjerati, djevojka

Karadžić after the 1840s

- tjerati, djevojka

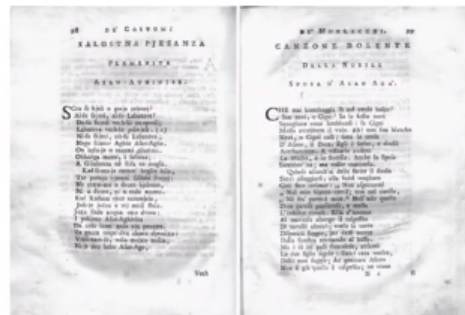
h ✓

secondary
palatalization 

Karadžić's strong reliance on Croatian heritage can be seen even more in other fields: as pointed out earlier, he issued Croatian proverbs, which Jesuit Della Bella had recorded in his 1728 dictionary, just under Serbian name only; the ballad "Hasanaginica", situated within Islamic cultural milieu, but composed in Croatian Catholic Dalmatian area and absent from Serbian sources, has been popularized especially by German philological and literary circles, including Goethe, under Serbian name- although it has nothing to do with Serbian, and, ironically, not even Slavic Muslim heritage. German Slavicist Volker Bockholt and Croatian linguist Mario Grčević have shown that Karadžić's claim that he himself had coined 181 neologisms for his translation of New Testament in 1847 is easily refutable- over 90% of these supposedly Karadžić's neologisms can be found in Ragusan Stulli's Dictionary (named Word Formation) and published from 1801 to 1810.



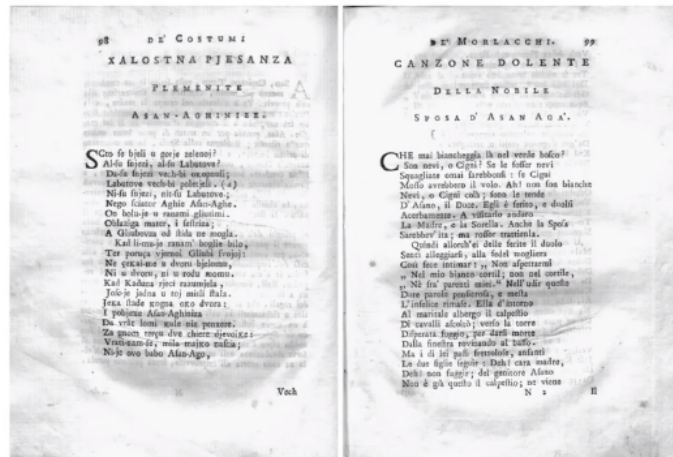
Johann Wolfgang Goethe
(1749 - 1832)



Dictionary 1728



Ardello Della Bella
(1655 - 1737)



Hasanaginica, the first edition according to Alberto Fortis, 1774

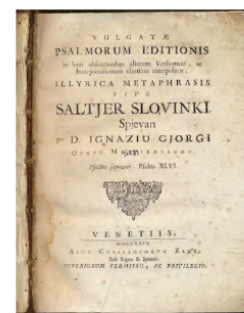
Croatian dominant literary heritage until 1800	
 Joakim Stulli 1805	
 Ivan Belostenec 1740	 Matija Antun Relković 1767
 Juraj Habdelić 1670	 Ardelio Della Bella 1728
 Matija Divković 1611	 Bartol Kašić 1621
 Marin Držić 1551	 Dinko Zlatarić 1597



Matija Divković,
Nauk krstjanski, 1611



Suze sina razmetnoga,
Ivan Gundulić, 1622



Saltjer slovinski
Đurđević, 1729



Razgovor ugodni
naroda slovinskog,
Andrija Kačić
Miošić 1756

Also, following confusions and schemes of early Slavic studies, from Dobrovsky to Šafarik, Karadžić was a proponent of linguistic pan-Serbianism, claiming that all literary heritage written in some form of Štokavian dialect, and belonging to any religious-civilizational circle (Catholic or Muslim) was “actually” Serbian, although those authors who had mentioned their South Slavic language had never called it Serbian, and most of them used the name Croatian (besides Illyrian and Slovin), the terms Croats used interchangeably, as shown by numerous Slavic languages historians, among them Croatian philologist and historian Radoslav Katičić, especially in his work “*Slovin and Croatian as Interchangeable Terms for the Language of Croatian Literature*”.

Hrvatski udjel u Karadžićevu prijevodu Novoga zavjeta

Mario Grčević

U predgovoru prijevoda *Novoga zavjeta* (1847.) V. S. Karadžić nabraja 181 riječ kao primjer za onaj dio leksičkih jedinica koje u rječnički sustav prijevoda nije preuzeo iz narodnoga govora. Prema njihovu izvoru odnosno načinu postanka svrstava ih u tri skupine.¹ U prvoj skupini navodi 49 riječi za koje kaže da ih je preuzeo iz crkvenoslavenskoga jezika (=riječi Slavenskije):

goritelj, nakazatelj, revnitelj, sursitelj, spasitelj, tješitelj, utješitelj, dještvenik, zakonik, zastupnik, kletvoprestupnik, muželožnik, posteljnik, prestupnik, propovjednik, srebrnik, četverokaznik, hulnik, hulni, proročica, lice-

takve stavove iskorišćuju svjesni, uvjereni jugonostalgici ne zanimajući se za pojedinosti.

¹ V. S. Karadžić, *Novi zavjet* (1847.), U *Sabranim djelima Vuka Karadžića*, knjiga 10, Beograd, 1974., str. 15.–17. (Turcizme koji su nabrojani u četvrtoj skupini ne uzimam u obzir.)

**Karadžić's claim he coined 181 neo-logisms
for his translation of the New Testament;
more than 90% of them can be found in
Joakim Stull's dictionaries**



Serbian elites, both clerical and bourgeois, strongly opposed Karadžić's reforms because they saw in it a continuation of Catholic Croatian traditions, and hence a Trojan horse of dreaded Catholicization. Then, Karadžić's writing in Štokavian Ijekavian had no precedent in Serbian literary tradition, only in Croatian; and even more, stripped of intellectual vocabulary and grammatical features of Church Slavonic and Russian, Karadžić's form of Serbian would lose much of its cultural historicity and Orthodox heritage. So, the struggle between Kopitar-Karadžić's model of Serbian and proponents of Slaveno-Serbian lasted from 1814 to 1868, the year of 1847 being, perhaps, the crucial as the year portending the future Karadžić's victory in Serbia and among Serbs in Austria.



all Štokavian is Serbian

Bogoslav Šulek, "Srbi i Hrvati", Neven, 1856, Belgrade



„Istoria svete udovice Judite, u **versih hrvatski** složena od Marka Marula, Splićanina. U Mletcih g. 1522.“

„Elektra, tragedia itd. Iz veće tudjih jezika u hrvacki izloženo po Dominku Zlatariću, Dubrovčaninu. U Bneclih 1599.“

„Pistule i Evangelija po sve godišće **hrvacki jezikom**, stu-maćena od fratra Bernardina Splićanina. U Bnetcih 1495.“

„Pistule i Evanjelja po sve godišće, **hrvatskim jezikom** stuma-ćena od J. Zborića, Trogirana. U Bnetcih 1586.“

„Cvit svetih, to jest život svetih itd. prenesen i složen na **hrvatski jezik** po O. F. Francić Glaviniću, Istrijaninu. U Bnetcih 1528.“

„Svitlost duše verne. Od Fr. Glavinića napisana za ugoditi bratji i vernim, a navlastito **hrvackomu jeziku** i mojim Istrianom. U Bneclih 1688.“

„Istumaćenje obilnie nauka krstjanskoga, prinešeno u **jezik hrvatski** zapovijdu sv. oca pape Urbana VIII. Tumaćenjem Ivana Tomka Marnavića, Bošnjana. U Rimu 1708.“

„Zakon crkovni složen i upravljen za naučenje i prosvitljenje redovnikov **hrvaskoga naroda** od Angjela Dela Kosta, popa crkve prvostolne splitske. U Mlecih 1708.“

„Pisan od pakla itd. Složi u **Hrvatski jezik** Otac F. Lovro iz Ljubuškoga (u Hercegovini). U Mnetcih 1727.“

„Pripravljenje za dostojno reći svetu misu, u **hrvatski jezik** — privedeno po Otcu fra Bernardinu Pavloviću iz Dubrovnika. U Mletcih 1747.“

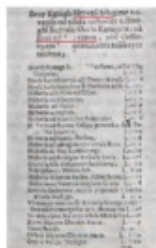
	Croatian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)
the same name	
communication	

1709. BARTUL OCCHI "Riva od Hrvatov" ili "Riva slovinska"

Broj knjig Hrvatskih gime no-
vanih od zdola nahodit u Buti-
gli Bartula Occhi Knjigara na
Rivi od Hrvatov, pod slame-
nyem S. Dominica, čina tolikoyer
occhina yest.

Navitcheuge Muke Ifukarilove, allini Plac
Golpojn. L. 1: 8
Nauk karichianski alli Doerrina mala L. 1: 8
Nauk karichianski alli Doerrina veila L. 1: 8
Historia alli Pifoi od Olive. L. 1: 8
Historia od Filomene. L. 1: 6
Historia od Malte. L. 1: 6
Historia od Kgliffa. L. 1: 6
Historia od Mandaline Pokoraize. L. 1: 6
Historia od Xivota Odipa pravčaua fina Pa-
triarke Giacova. L. 1: 10
Historia od Grada Podina. L. 1: 6
Historia od obrapčienya Grada Boča. L. 1: 6
Historia od fina Razmernača. L. 1: 10
Historia od Robigne Anibala Lucia. L. 1: 14
Giarula Alli Tellament Ilari i noui. L. 1: 14
Pokripljenje Vmiruchih. L. 1: 10
Historia Vdovize Iudite, i Olopherna L. 1: 10
Historia od Vazerna Szigbert Grada. L. 1: 8
Zerzalo Duheuno, toyei pogetach i fverha
xivota Nač ga. L. 1: 6
Vkazanye vuci dnoči Ruzaria fereoga, i onay-
Bva od Pričveoga Ru. arija ifumacna. L. 1: 6
Xivot Golpod Nalcega Ifuka Ifukarila. L. 1: 6
Xivot Blaxent Divize Marie. L. 1: 6
Xivot Šverih. L. 1: 6
Oficii Blaxene Divize Marie. L. 1: 10
Oficii Velike Nedigle. L. 1: 10
Qd.

Katalog knjig Bartula Occhi na "Rivi od Hrvatov"



JEZIK

4
XXXVI

ČASOPIS ZA KULTURU HRVATSKOGA KNJIŽEVNOG JEZIKA
IZDAJE HRVATSKO FILOLOŠKO DRUŠTVO

GOD. 36, BR. 4, 97–128, ZAGREB, TRAVANJ 1989.

"SLOVĚNSKI" I "HRVATSKI" KAO ZAMJENJIVI NAZIVI JEZIKA HRVATSKE
KNJIŽEVNOSTI

Radoslav Katičić

Ovaj je članak napisan za zbornik u počast slavistu László Hadrovicsu prigodom njegove
80. obljetnice života koja slavi 27. lipnja iduće godine. S dopunjenjem srednjoškolskog odnosa
Hrvatskome književnom znanosti obilježavaju se u njoj navedeni odnosi i brojevi odnosa.

Na po-
sljednem listu latiničkoga izdanja Budiničeva Ispravnika za jereje (Mleci 1709) oisnuo
je knjižar mali katalog pod naslovom: *Broj knjig hrvatskih imenovanih odzola nahodi
se u butigi Bartula Occhi knjigara na Rivi od Hrvatov*. Kraljičeve pak Pribogoljubne
molitve izlaze 1734. u *Bnech ... na Rivi slovinskoj*.⁵¹ Tako se i *Riva dei Schiavoni*
mogla prevoditi na dva načina.

Medu "knjigama hrvatskim" koje Occhi nudi na prodaju nalaze se djela Maruličeva,
Lucićeva, Hektorovičeva, Karmaričeva, Ranjinina, Barakovičeva, Gunduličeva, Durdevi-
čeva. Doista je tu sav Nalješkovičev "narod Hrvata", ali i Vetrantovičev "slovinjski kotar
vas". Od renesansnih vremena nije se dakle, što se naziva jezika i naroda tiče, ništa bit-
noga promijenilo.

Jedna od Occhijevih knjiga nosi naslov: *Način za moći naučiti jedan putnik Latinin
slovinjski jezik, a Hrvat italijanski*. I to sasvim očito pokazuje kako je zamjenjivost
Jvaju naziva ostala živa. Ona je to bila još na prijelazu iz 18. i 19. stoljeće. Tada je
Dubrovčanin Brucerić započeo svoju Satiru ovim stihovima. *Ti koji dni traješ i noći
knjige premeću, / pomnjivo tražeći slovinskog naroda slave; / Bi l' uzrok men' po sreći
dokazati znao / s pivnice jer svako do glasovita Pregata / slavne bi se slatko hrvatske
odreko starine? / Jer čupah od župskih do najponosne vladike / stidi se svak jezik
slovinjski čisto govoriti*.⁵² Zamjenjivost naziva za narod i jezik tu je poslužila za va-

Ostalo

"Slovčnski" i "hrvatski" kao zamjenjivi nazivi za jezik hrvatske književnosti

Radoslav Katičić

Puni tekst: hrvatski, pdf (796 KB)

Hrčak ID: 207675















URI









<https://hrcaj.srce.hr/207675>













reuzimanja: 201*

citiraj

CROATIAN	 1846  1756  1621  1501  1380 - 1400	SERBIAN	 1818  1818	Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1790 Jovan Rajič	Slavono Serbian  1783 Dositej Obradović
	  			Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1349  1169 - 1236	Dušan's Code Saint Sava

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Croatian dominant literary heritage until 1800	Serbian dominant literary heritage until 1800
 <p>Joakim Stulli 1805</p>  <p>Ivan Belostenec 1740</p>  <p>Matija Antun Relković 1767</p>  <p>Juraj Habelić 1670</p>  <p>Ardelio Della Bella 1728</p>  <p>Matija Divković 1611</p>  <p>Bartol Kašić 1621</p>  <p>Marin Držić 1551</p>  <p>Dinko Zlatarić 1597</p>	 <p>Jovan Rajič 1790</p>  <p>Aleksije Vezilić 1785</p>  <p>Zaharije Orfelin 1783</p>  <p>Dositej Obradović 1783</p>

UNDERSTANDABLE WITH MODERN STANDARDS	NOT -UNDERSTANDABLE SERBIAN WITH MODERN STANDARDS
<div> <div>  <p>Ivan Mažuranić 1846</p>  <p>Andrija Kačić Miošić 1756</p>  <p>Bartol Kašić 1621</p>  <p>Marko Marulić 1501</p>  <p>Croatian Prayer Book 1380 - 1400</p> </div> <div> <p>SERBIAN</p>  <p>Vuk Karadžić 1818</p> </div> </div>	<div> <div> <p>Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p>  <p>Jovan Rajič 1790</p> </div> <div> <p>Slavono Serbian</p>  <p>1783</p> </div> </div> <div> <p>Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p>  <p>Du: Cc 1349</p>  <p>Saint 1169 - 1236</p> </div>

CROATIAN ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT

Among Croats, the most significant movement in language- national unification was the Illyrian Movement or Croatian National Revival, from the 1830 until 1843; also, continuing during the decades to follow after the official prohibition of the Illyrian name.

Croatian Illyrian movement



Croatian Illyrian movement



Creators of the Illyrian Era

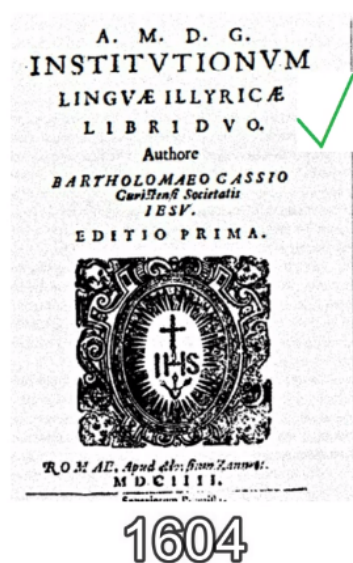
The leaders were young men, mostly from the Zagreb area, whose mother tongues were Croatian Kajkavian, Čakavian, Slovak, Štokavian, or in the case of their leader Ljudevit Gaj, German and Kajkavian.

Croatian Illyrian movement



The paradox that Croatian national integrative movement had been conducted under almost mythological Illyrian name can be explained by two factors; first, Illyrian "nation" has been long since, and officially in the Vatican decree from 1656, identified with modern Croatian people, referring to Catholics who dwell in historical lands of (Northern) Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia and Bosnia.

Croatian Illyrian movement

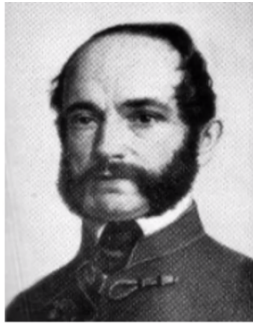




Also, Croatian name, in a modified form, had been in the beginning of the 19th century frequently used to design only part of Northern Croatia around Zagreb, so Illyrian ideologues, struggling to integrate Croats in a modern nation, and having in mind neighboring Slovenes, as well as Orthodox Slavic population in Croatia which had been vacillating between Croatian and Serbian identities, had been using, in the beginning, historical Illyrian name. They dismissed Croatian Kajkavian as being a too narrow in its speakers' basis and adopted a sort of enriched Dubrovnik Štokavian Ijekavian as the weapon in the struggle against Hungarian and Germanization of Croatia, trying to show that Croats had possessed a rich literature centuries before Hungarian, and in some cases, even German. Chief protagonists were Gaj, brothers Mažuranić, Slovak immigrant Bogoslav Šulek and grammarian Vjekoslav Babukić.



Ljudevit Gaj
(1809 - 1872)



Ivan Mažuranić
(1814 - 1890)



Vjekoslav Babukić
(1812 - 1875)



Bogoslav Šulek
(1816 - 1895)

UDK 811.163.42'28:81'373.46
811.163.42'373.46(091)
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljen 15.III.2006.
Prihvaćen za tisak 26.VI.2006.

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GRAMATIČKO NAZIVLJE U HRVATSKOME KAJKAVSKOME KNJIŽEVNOM JEZIKU

U radu se razmatra gramatičko nazivlje u hrvatskome kajkavskom književnom jeziku. Analizom su obuhvaćeni kajkavski rječnici, gramatike i pravopisi. Komparativnom analizom kajkavsko se gramatičko nazivlje smješta u širi kontekst hrvatskoga gramatičkoga nazivlja.

2. Korpus

Analizom su obuhvaćeni Belostenčev *Gazophylacium* i Jambrešičev *Lexicon*³ te sedam gramatika nastalih u razdoblju od 1772. do 1837. godine⁴: *Nemška gramatika* (1772.) Antuna Rajsipa, *Gründe der kroatischen Sprache zum Nutzen der deutschen Jugend* (1779.) Ivana Vitkovića, *Anleitung zur deutschen Sprache* (1780.)⁵ bez imena autora, *Einleitung zur kroatischen Sprachlehre für Teutsche* (1783.) Ignaca Szentmártonya, *Kroatische Sprachlehre* (1795.) Franza Korniga, *Kroatisch-slavisches Sprachlehre* (1826.) Josipa Đurkovečkog te *Grammatik der kroatischen Mundart* (1837.) Ignaca Kristijanovića. Prema jeziku kojim su pisane, gramatike se mogu podijeliti na gramatike hrvatskoga kajkavskoga književnog jezika na njemačkome i gramatike njemačkoga jezika na hrvatskome kajkavskome književnom jeziku. Valja naglasiti da su upravo gramatike njemačkoga jezika bile zanemarivane, iako su pisane hrvatskim kajkavskim književnim jezikom⁶. Stoga obje spomenute skupine gramatika u daljnjem tekstu nazivamo kajkavskim gramatikama. U pregled gramatičkih naziva uvrštene su četiri od sedam konzultiranih gramatika⁷.

Osim toga, zastupljena su i tri pravopisna priručnika: *Kratki navuk za pravopisanje horvatsko za potrebnost narodnih škol* (1779.), *Napućenie za horvatski prav četiti i pisati* (1808.)⁸ i *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja* Ljudevita Gaja (1830.).

K. Lewis, B. Štebih, N. Vajs, Gramatičko nazivlje u hrvatskome kajkavskome književnom jeziku
FILOLOGIJA 46-47(2006), 183-201

Croatian Illyrian movement



The Metropolitanate
of Karlovci (1690-1920)

Census In 1890 MOTHER LANGUAGE

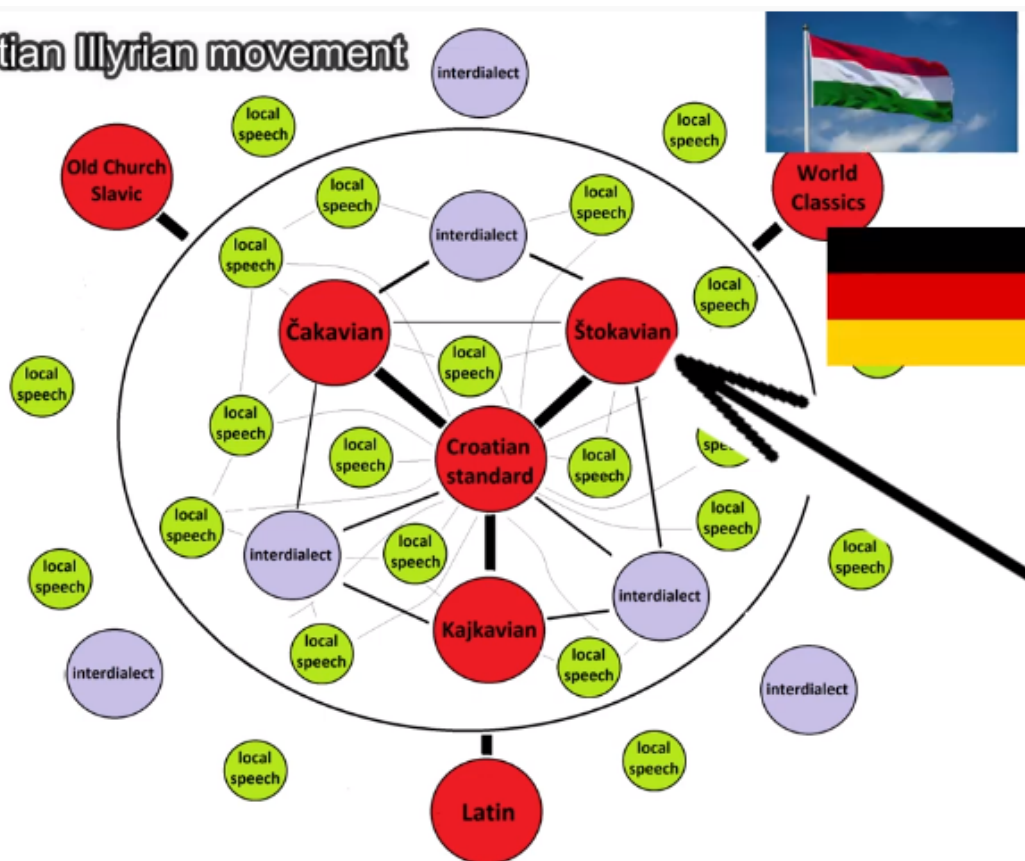
86% Catholics Croatian
0.15% Catholics Serbian

34% Orthodox Croatian
44% Orthodox Serbian

Croatian Illyrian movement

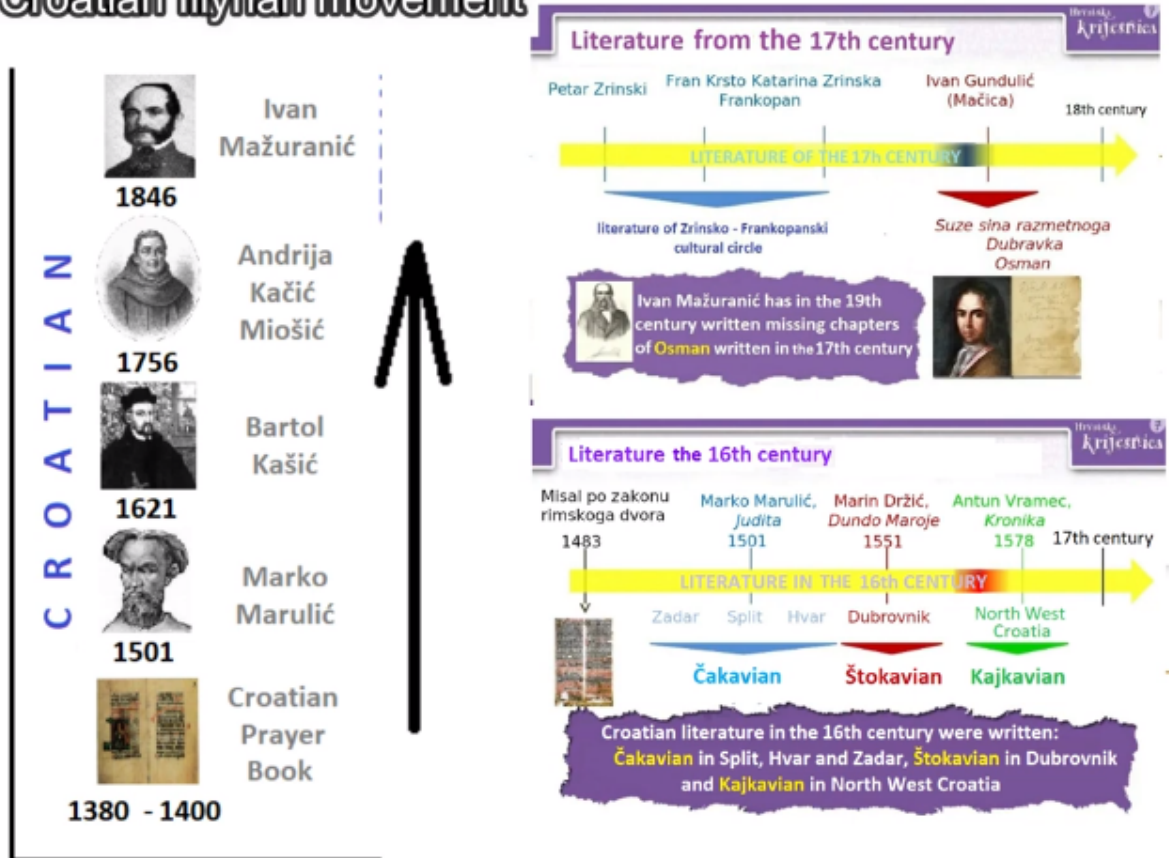


Croatian Illyrian movement

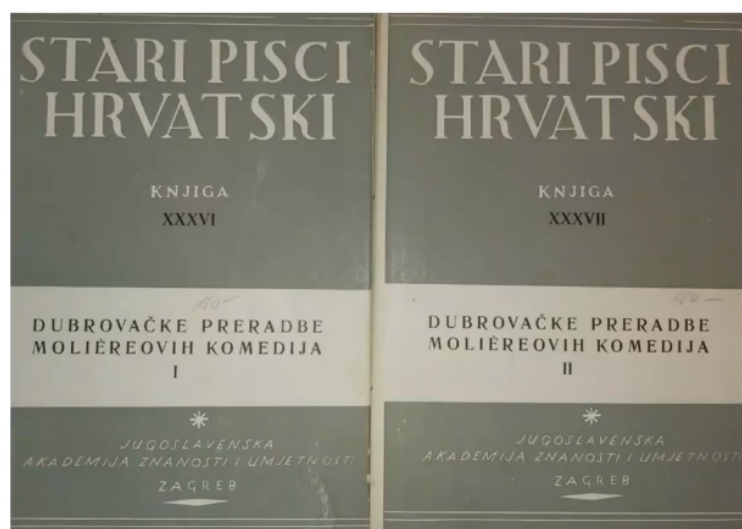


So, unlike Serbian Karadžić's reform, Croatian revival meant. Continuation of Croatian literary heritage, and not a radical discontinuity.

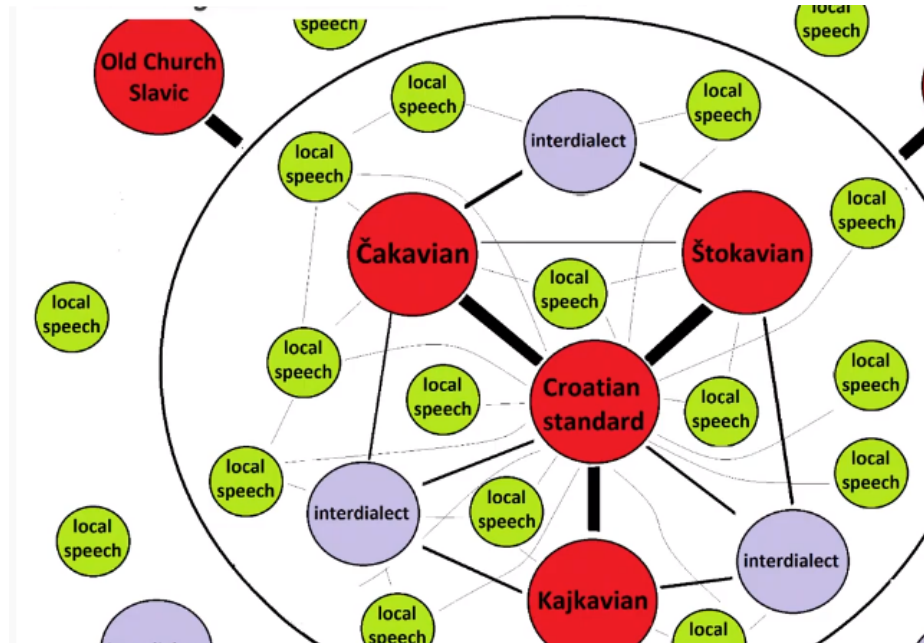
Croatian Illyrian movement

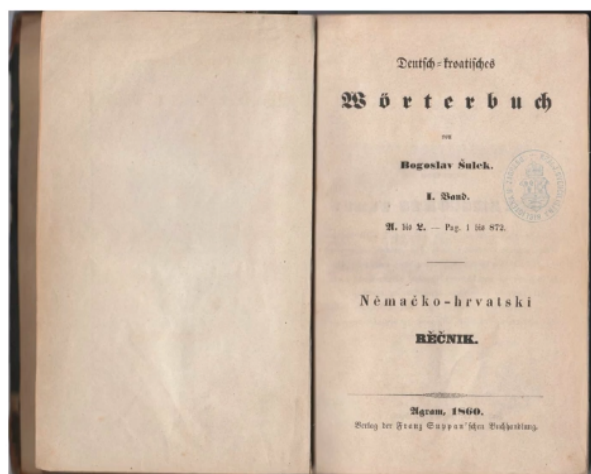


- **Morphemic orthography** based on Czech model (č, š, ...) along with old Croatian graphemes (lj, nj), all in the cultural atmosphere of pan-Slavism vs. mostly phonemic Karadžić's orthography.
- **Reprinting of old Croatian books** from the 1500s on, using the new spelling system and thus affirming the historicity of their language type.

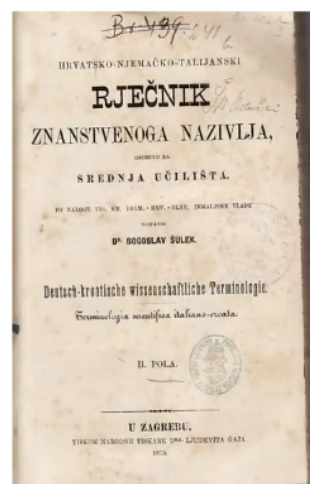


- **Vast expansion of Croatian thesaurus by coining many new neologisms** (Šulek's dictionaries contain more than 200,000 words; also, they coined new words for toothache, budget, ice-cream, concept, suicide, umbrella, sculpture, oxygen, impulse, pavement, literature ..), thus exhibiting a characteristic trait of literary Croatian, linguistic purism which went against absorption of unnecessary German, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, Turkish ... loan-words and grammatical features.
- **Absorption of Kajkavian and Čakavian words** into mostly Štokavian grammatical and lexical basis.





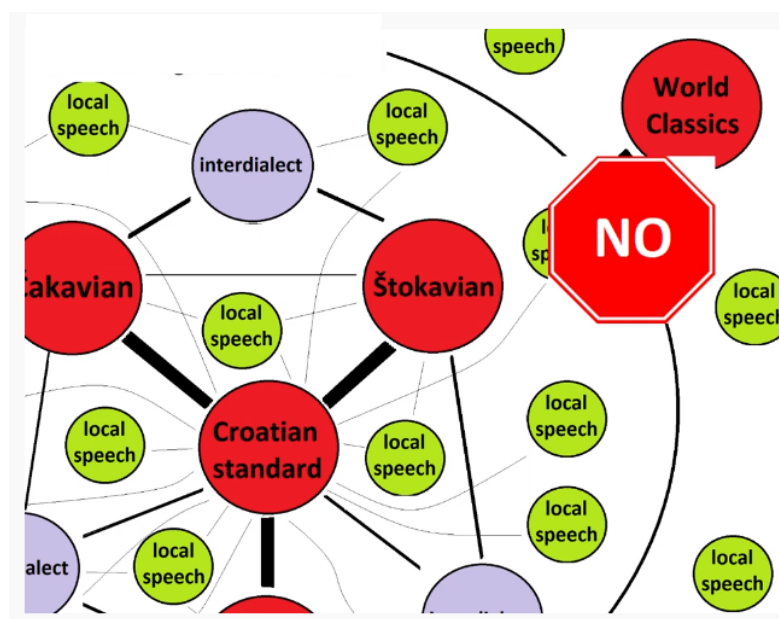
German Croatian Dictionary, 1860



Croatian Dictionary of Scientific Terminology, 1875



Dictionary of Botany



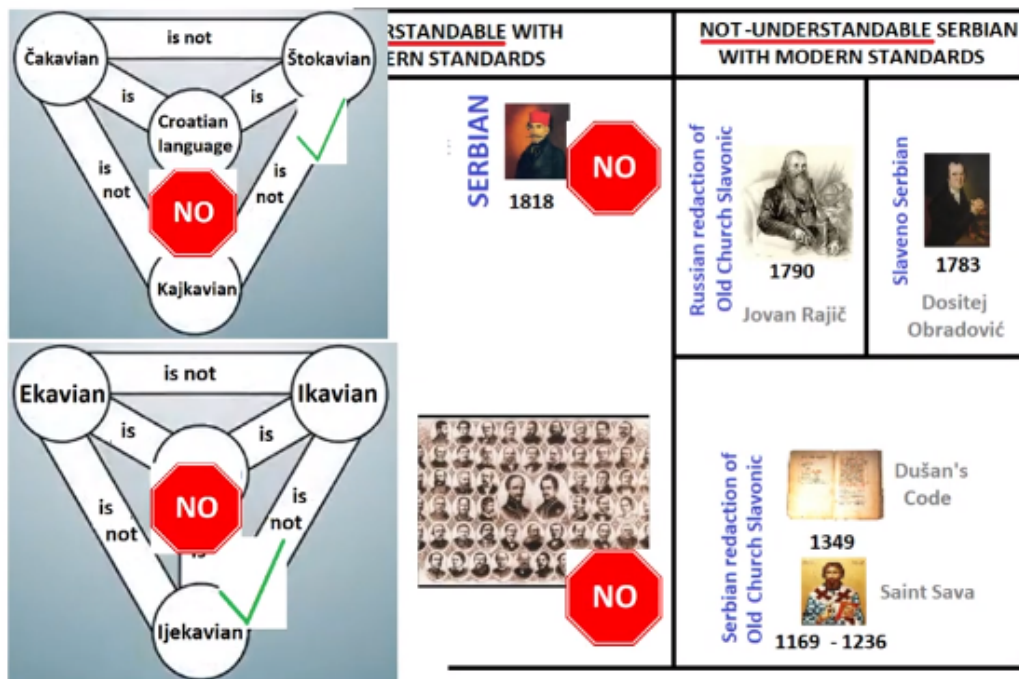
Croatian Illyrian movement

1. **Continuation of Croatian literary heritage**, and not a radical discontinuity.
2. **Morphemic orthography** based on Czech model (č, š,...) along with old Croatian graphemes (lj, nj), all in the cultural atmosphere of pan-slavism vs. mostly phonemic Karadžić's orthography
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4. **Vast expansion of Croatian thesaurus** by coining many new neologisms (Šulek's dictionaries contain more than 200,000 words; also, they coined new words for toothache, budget, ice-cream, concept, suicide, umbrella, sculpture, oxygen, impulse, pavement, literature ..), thus exhibiting a characteristic trait of literary Croatian, linguistic purism which went against absorption of unnecessary German, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, Turkish ... loan-words and grammatical features
5. **Absorption of Kajkavian and Čakavian** words into mostly Štokavian grammatical and lexical basis.

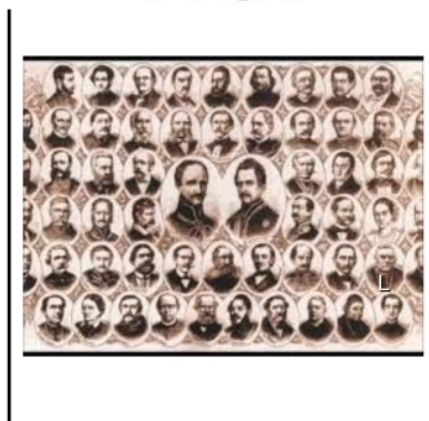
ILLYRIANS AND SERBIANS

Serbian cultural circles were suspicious and inimical towards Illyrians, while Karadžić was hesitatingly friendly; Illyrians were, on the other hand, friendly towards Karadžić as a language reformer, seeing in his works a continuation and popularization of their old literary traditions. With him, Serbian literature has finally become fully “Illyrian”. On the other hand, they completely dismissed his pan-Serbian ideology.

Illyrians and Serbians



NO!



panserbism?



Much discussed so-called Vienna agreement from 1850 was a document arranged by Vienna court-police authorities to somehow unify Croatian and Serbian languages into one language, as the dictionaries for Slavic legal terminology had been prepared. One Slovene, two Serbs and 5 Croats signed that agreement (Gaj was not among them), emphasizing that "one people has to have one literature"- without naming either people, language or literature. This paper, celebrated ca. 70 to 100 years after its appearance, has not influenced any language. Three years after that, in 1853, a trilingual terminological legal dictionary had appeared, separately for Slovene, Croatian and Serbian.

Vienna agreement, 1850



Ivan Mažuranić
(1814 - 1890)



Vuk Karadžić
(1787 - 1864)



Franc Miklošić
(1813 - 1891)

Vienna agreement, 1850

what people?

what language?

what literature?



Juridical- Political Terminology for Austrian Slavic languages: Croatian, Serbian and Slovene Separate Edition, 1853

IZVODI IZ KATALOGA
Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Odjel za kroatologiju
Borugajka 83d, HR-10000 Zagreb
grovec@stud.hr

JERNEJ KOPITAR KAO STRATEG KARADŽIĆEVE KNJIŽEVNOJEZIČNE REFORME

Jernej je Kopitar u suzanju s austrijskim redarstvom odlučio srpski književni jezik reformirati tako da mu prekine razvojni kontrast i da mu nametne hrvatski književnojezični tip kao novu osnovicu. Time je htio prekinuti srpske kulturno-političke veze s Rusijom i pravoslavne Srbe vezati uz katoličke Hrvate. Nakon prihvaćanja hrvatskih književnojezičnih zaslada od strane Srba posredstvom V. S. Karadžića Hrvatima je trebalo nametnuti kopitar-Karadžićevu pravopisnu i jezičnu kodifikaciju. Srpsko-hrvatskim književnojezičnim ujedinjenjem Kopitar je krenuo potaknuti nastanak nove srpske nacije koja bi dobiti dijelom bila katolička, prozapadno orijentirana i priznava Austriju. Preko nje bi se širio austrijski utjecaj prema istoku.

9. godine objavljena je i odredba bečkoga Ministarstva kulture i va s privremenim zakonom o ispitima pristupnika za radno mjesto zidarskog profesora. U tom se zakonu određuje da profesori «živih je-moraju raspolagati u potpunosti znanjem o pojedinim jezicima i nji- i najvažnijim književnim pojavama (Allgemeines... 688—689), jedan- sa «živih jezika» zove se «ilirski i hrvatski i za nj je potrebno «poznavati izvrsne dubrovačko-dalmatinske književnike 16. i 17. stoljeća, npr. Gün- dulića, Palmotića, Zlatarića, Đorđića. Za jezik koji se zove srpski, traži se pak «poznavanje razlika između temeljnoga jezika i crkvenoslavenskoga narječja koje se održava u liturgiji, nadalje poznavanje njegovih napsta- rinih jezičnih spomenika, ti. srpskih povelja tiskanih u Beogradu i zakoni- ka Stefana Dušana».⁴³

Na str. 173, pod rednim brojem 153, piše: «kaiserliches Patent vom 4. März 1849, wodurch die Einführung eines allgemeinen Reichs-Gesetz- und Regierungskalenders, sowie der Landes-Gesetz- und Regierungskalender angeordnet wird 73». Tekst se car- ske naredbe tu se ne donosi, već se u bilješci upućuje da je isti već tiskan u uvodu na str. 2—4 (misliti se na str. III—IV), gdje je tiskan carska naredba, iz koje na str. V—VII slijedi dopuna Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i Ministarstva pravosuđa od 2. travnja 1849. s popisom pojedinih jezika.

⁴³ [...] «die Candidaten für die ilirische und croatische Sprache [haben] eine Kennt- niss der vorzüglichsten ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Schriftsteller des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, z. B. Gundulić, Palmotić, Zlatarić, Georgij, die Candidaten für die serbische Sprache Kenntniss des Unterschiedes zwischen der ihnen angetra- genen Sprache und der in der Liturgie fortlaufenden kirchenslavischen Mundart, fer- ner ihrer ältesten Sprachdenkmäler, d. i. der serbischen in Belgrad gedruckten Urkun- den und des Gesetzbuches von Stephan Dusan nachzuweisen», Allgemeines 689.



Str. 211.

273

Königinhofer Handschrift, Dalmat's Chronik, die Rosenberg'schen Rechtsbücher zu verlangen. Die Lehramtsandidaten für die polnische Sprache haben einige Kenntniss ihrer Sprachdenkmäler aus dem XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, der von Reuel herausgegebenen altpolnischen Rechtsbücher und von Margarethen's Pfal- ter; die Candidaten für die ruthenische Sprache grammatische Kenntniss der altslavischen Kirchensprache, dann des Heldengesanges Igor und der Poljshnischen oder Spasijevischen Chronik; die Candidaten der slowenischen Sprache einige Vertrautheit mit den kanonischen Fragmenten, mit den Leisungen Bo- horics, Trubers, Dalmatius und anderer Männer des XVI. Jahrhunderts; die Candidaten für die ilirische und croatische Sprache eine Kenntniss der vor- züglichsten ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Schriftsteller des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhun- derts, z. B. Gundulić, Palmotić, Zlatarić, Georgij; die Candidaten für die serbische Sprache, Kenntniss des Unterschiedes zwischen der ihnen angetra- genen Sprache und der in der Liturgie fortlaufenden kirchenslavischen Mundart, fer- ner ihrer ältesten Sprachdenkmäler, d. i. der serbischen in Belgrad gedruckten Urkunden und des Gesetzbuches von Stephan Dusan nachzuweisen. Die Candi- daten der slowakischen Sprache dürfen der Kenntniss der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur nicht entbehren, die Candidaten der rumänischen oder wal- lachischen Sprache aber nicht der Kenntniss ihrer älteren in Bibelübersetzung, den Kirchensbüchern und Urkunden gebrauchten Sprache.

3. Diejenige Kenntniss der Unterrichtssprache, welche von jedem Exami- nanden beansprucht wird, berechtigt ihn zugleich zum Unterrichte in derselben für

1849. godine objavljena je i odredba bečkoga Ministarstva kulture i školstva s privremenim zakonom o ispitu pristupnika za radno mjesto gimnazijskoga profesora. U tom se zakonu određuje da profesori »živih jezika« moraju raspolagati utemeljenim znanjem o pojedinim jezicima i njihovim najvažnijim književnim pojavama (Allgemeines....:688—689). Jedan od »živih jezika« zove se »ilirski i hrvatski« i za nj je potrebno »poznavati izvrsne dubrovačko-dalmatinske književnike 16. i 17. stoljeća, npr. Gundulića, Palmotića, Zlatarića, Đorđića«. Za jezik koji se zove »srpski«, traži se pak »poznavanje razlika između temeljnoga jezika i crkvenoslavenskoga narječja koje se održava u liturgiji, nadalje poznavanje njegovih najstarijih jezičnih spomenika, tj. srpskih povelja tiskanih u Beogradu i zakonika Stefana Dušana«. ⁴³

Na str. 173., pod rednim brojem 153. piše: »kaiserliches Patent vom 4. März 1849, wodurch die Einführung eines allgemeinen Reichs-Gesetz- und Regierungsblattes, sowie der Landes-Gesetz- und Regierungsblätter angeordnet wird *).«. Tekst te carske naredbe tu se ne donosi, već se u bilješci upućuje da je isti već tiskan u uvodu na str. 2—4 (misli se na str. II—IV), gdje je tiskana carska naredba, iza koje na str. V—VII slijedi dopuna Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i Ministarstva pravosuđa od 2. travnja 1849. s popisom pojedinih jezika.

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Two literature, Croatian and Serbian, have been developing after the 1840s with their own characteristics in imaginative literature, sciences, journalism, parliamentary proceedings, historiography, literary criticism, philology, cultural and scientific terminology, collections of folk literature, ethnographic works, political polemics, military and legal terminology, translation of the classics.

Croatian language after 1848

Serbian language after 1848

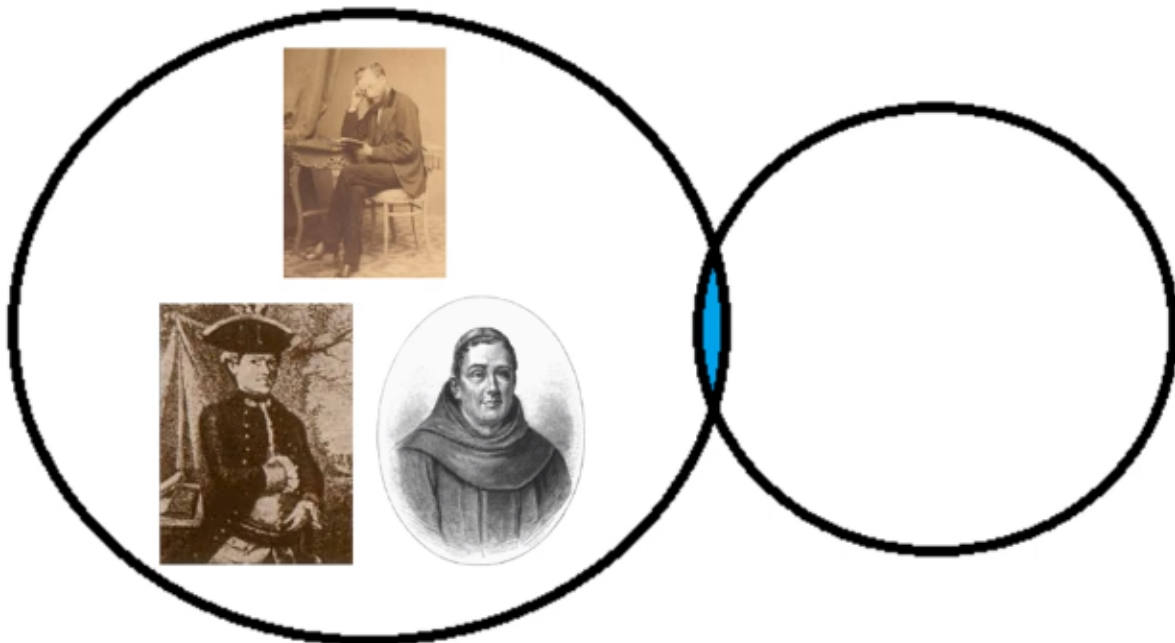


Croatian language after 1848

Serbian language after 1848



An interesting phenomenon should be mentioned, Serbian translation of Croatian books into Serbian, even after Karadžić's reform.



Thus, Serbian author Jovan Rajić had in 1793 translated Croatian writer's Relković's epic "Satir" into "simple Serbian". Rajić had translated this work by importing numerous Church Slavic words, using Ekavian jat reflex and changing numerous lexical and syntactical features.



Gavrilo Kovačević had in 1818 translated a shortened version of Kačić Miošić's *“A Pleasant Discourse of the Slovin People”* into a book described as *“being modified according to Serbian language custom and form”*.



Even after Karadžić's official victory, Croatian vernacular works were being translated into Serbian. In 1892, the Serbian translator Mita Đorić published a translation of Croatian author August Šenoa's novel *“Goldsmith's Gold”*, in Croatian language, into Serbian Ekavian, in Cyrillic, virtually mutilating the original text by changing names and places, plus introducing Orthodox terminology and Turkish loan-words which had become an ordinary words of modern Serbian. He also forged the alleged Šenoa's signature in Serbian Cyrillic; Đorić himself had written the alleged Šenoa's preface to the novel, “claiming” that Croats were in fact Serbs of Roman Church who had become Croatianized and poisoned by the Catholic Church.



**August Šenoa
(1838 - 1881)**

**Mutilation of Šenoa's language;
Ijekavian into Ekavian;**

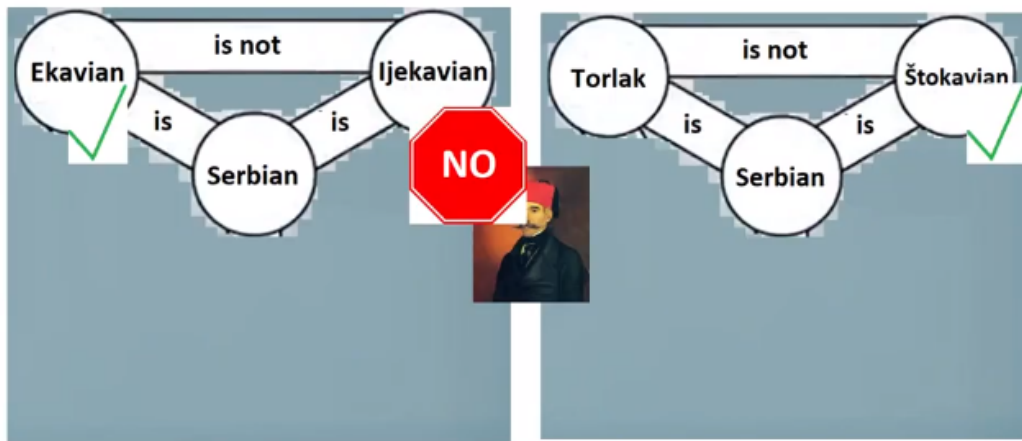
**Croatian historical names and
terminology changed into Serbian;**

"Croatian" replaced by "Serbian";

**forgery of Šenoa's preface to Serbs,
as well as his signature in Serbian
Šenoa never wrote any of those**

Mita Đorić

From the 1860s until the creation of the new South Slavic state in 1918, first Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then Yugoslavia, the situation had been as follows: Karadžić's reformed Serbian was accepted as the official Serbian language in Serbian duchy, then kingdom, with Ekavian jat reflex, dominant among Serbs in Serbia and Austrian province of Vojvodina replacing his Ijekavian stylization; his scriptory and orthographic reforms of the Serbian Cyrillic had been completely adopted, with minor alterations, and the prevalent language profile was in many ways, primarily grammatically, lexically and syntactically simplified to accommodate Eastern Serbian speakers. Karadžić's Štokavian Ijekavian, Eastern physiognomy, was accepted in Montenegro and among Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to some degree in Croatia, where its dissemination depended on school system and the level of literacy. Further development of Serbian language until World War 1 entailed modernization and urbanization of lexicon and syntax, following French, German and Russian cultural influences.



1860s - 1918

**The Serbian dominant in Serbia and Vojvodina,
while accepting Karadžić's scriptory reform,
moved significantly away from his language type by:**

- * changing from Ijekavian to Ekavian
- * adoption and prevalence of Eastern Serbian grammatical and lexical characteristics, alien to Croats
- * a high level of loan-words from Russian and, later, French and German, as well in some syntactic features
- * adoption of Balkan language features, especially in grammar and accentuation



Among Croats, first Illyrian, and then its successor, Zagreb philological school dominated, that is Western Štokavian Ijekavian with characteristic Croatian cultural and historical features at all language levels, as described above.

The Croatian language essential traits:

- * tri-dialectal basis and interweaving between Croatian three dialects and three developed literary languages around the Western Štokavian axis
- * the constant enrichment by Croatian literary heritage in the vernacular from the 1400s on
- * linguistic purism or preference for Croatian Slavic words

VUKOVIANS AND YUGOSLAVISM

Yet, with the growth of Yugoslav ideology among Croats, (and to an extent among Serbs in Croatia, as well as among Bosnian Muslims, later Bosniaks), there had appeared tendencies among pro-Yugoslav Croatian intellectuals and philologists, especially those dominant in the Croatian Academy - significantly called Yugoslav Academy - to reshape the already elastically stable Croatian language at any level possible as to bring it closer to the mature Karadžić's type of language, hoping in vain that most Serbs would abandon their Ekavian-based language and to achieve, in their opinion, a truly unified language (albeit with two scripts).

Vukovians and Yugoslavism



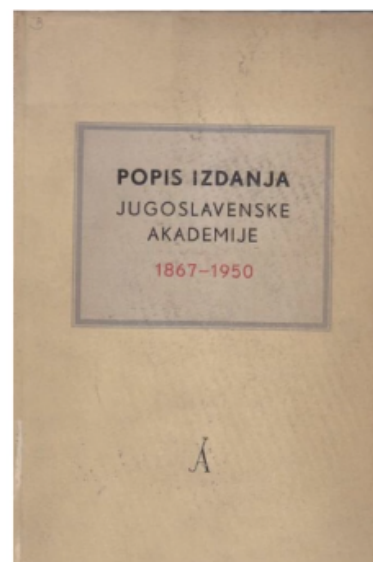
Josip Juraj Strossmayer
(1815 - 1905)



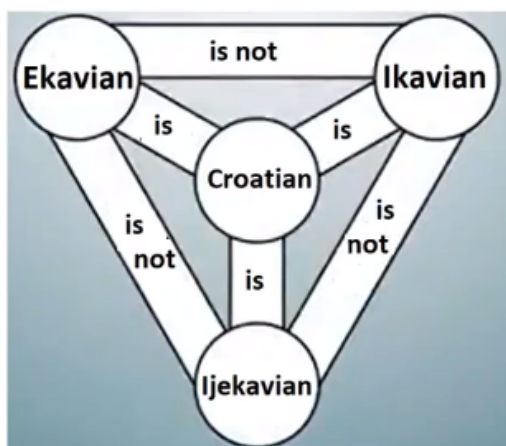
Franjo Rački
(1828 - 1894)



**The Plaque honoring the
Foundation of Yugoslav
Academy, 1867**



**Bibliography of Yugoslav Academy
of Arts and Sciences publications,
1867 to 1950**



Croatian Script

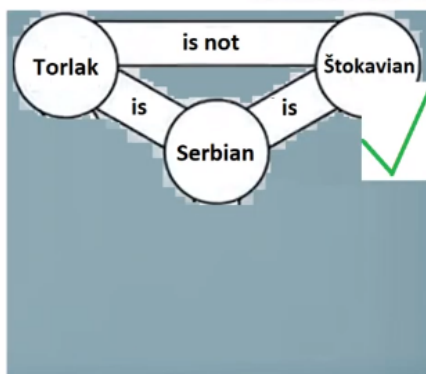
A B C Č Ć D
 Dž Đ E F G H
 I J K L Lj M
 N Nj O P R S
 Š T U V Z Ž

Serbian Script

Aa Бб Вв Гг Дд
 Ђђ Ее Жж Зз
 Ии Јј Кк Лл Љљ
 Мм Нн Њњ
 Оо Пп Рр Сс Тт
 Ћћ Уу Фф Хх
 Цц Чч Џџ Шш

Looking from a distance, their endeavor seems hopelessly delusional: Serbs had firmly established their national language based on Eastern Štokavian Ekavian, with only a minority of Serbs writing in Ijekavian, which was in many features distinct from the Croatian literary language, because literary Serbian in all its varieties does not possess typically Croatian triple defining characteristics: first -interweaving of Štokavian with Čakavian and Kajakavian; second – continuity with and replenishment from multicentennial literary heritage; third – linguistic purism that prefers Croatian Slavic neologisms over imported loan-words.

Eastern Štokavian

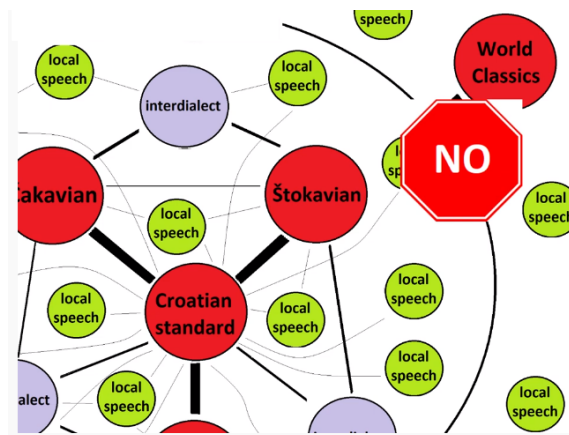


The Croatian language essential traits:

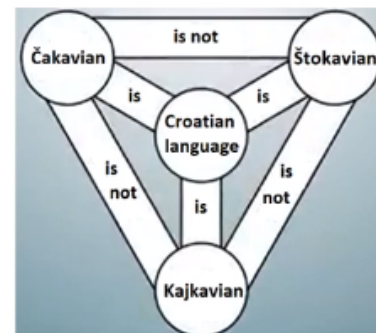
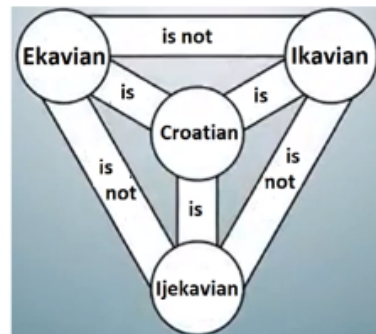
- * tri-dialectal basis and interweaving between Croatian three dialects and three developed literary languages around the Western Štokavian axis
- * the constant enrichment by Croatian literary heritage in the vernacular from the 1400s on
- * linguistic purism or preference for Croatian Slavic words

The Serbian dominant in Serbia and Vojvodina, while accepting Karadžić's scriptory reform, moved significantly away from his language type by:

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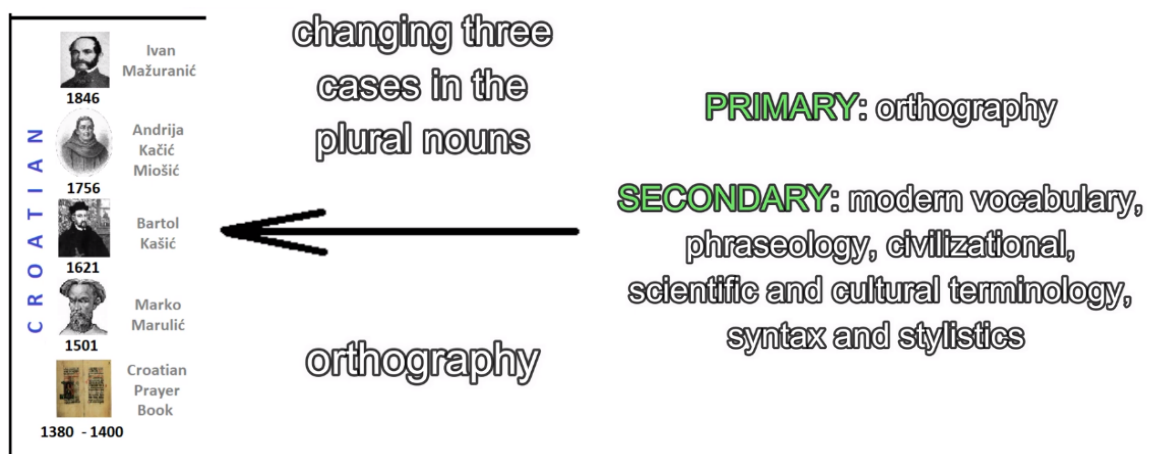


CROATIAN		Ivan Mažuranić
	1846	
		Andrija Kačić Miošić
	1756	
		Bartol Kašić
	1621	
		Marko Marulić
	1501	
		Croatian Prayer Book
	1380 - 1400	



Also, pro-Yugoslav philologists, so-called neo-grammarians or Croatian Vukovians, who tended to dominate Croatian philology from the 1880s to the World War 1, concentrated mostly on orthography and changing three cases in the plural nouns- which is a feature of neo-Štokavian, present in Croatian literary culture from the 17th century, but marginalized by major Illyrian authors who preferred old Štokavian plural forms because of similarities with Čakavian and Kajkavian, as well as because they considered them to be grammatically more refined; and, most significantly, in decades to follow, Croatian neo-grammarians had been trying to suppress Čakavian and Kajkavian elements in Croatian public, standard language, relegating them to specialized editions - all in the name of language unity with the Serbs, who do not speak or write in these two dialects (although they had adopted, mostly unconsciously, many words from them).

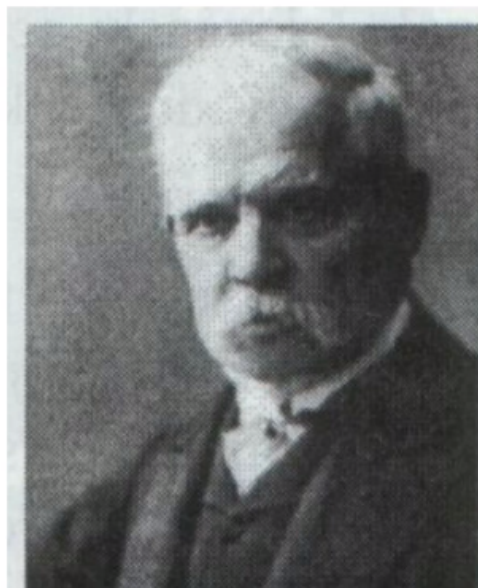
A truly bizarre idea of Croatian Vukovians or neo-grammarians was that the change of Orthography is of such a monumental importance, while modern vocabulary, phraseology, civilizational, scientific and cultural terminology, syntax and stylistics are of secondary importance.



One of the crucial points in that development was the arrival in Zagreb of Karadžić's ablest and best educated collaborator Đuro Daničić, who outright dismissed pan-Serbian ideology and tried, this time based on fusion of the mature Karadžić's orthography and accentuation combined with Croatian lexical, grammatical and literary corpus to form a unified language which would be called "*Croatian or Serbian*", and while he resided in Belgrade, "*Serbian or Croatian*" (Daničić used most older Croatian Štokavian and Čakavian sources, as well Kajkavian ones to the extent he knew them, but he dismissed most 19th century Croatian authors, and to some degree even Serbian). He did this with collaboration and guidance of the most prominent Croatian philologist, erudite Vatroslav Jagić, who soon obtained more lucrative positions in Odessa, Saint Petersburg, Vienna and Berlin, thus becoming the patriarch of the late 19th century European Slavic studies.

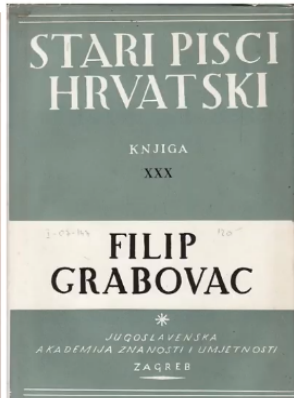
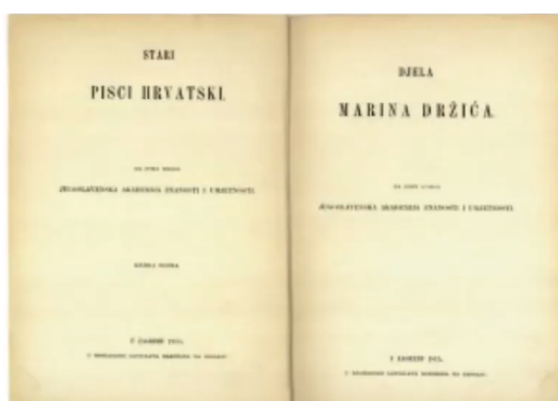


Đuro Daničić
(1825 - 1882)



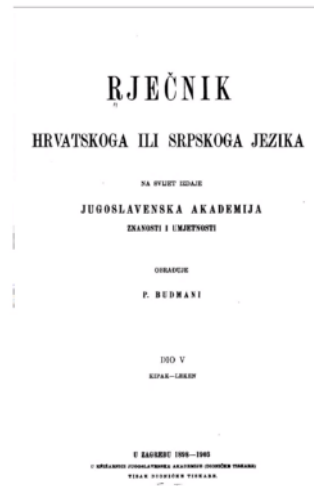
Vatroslav Jagić
(1838 - 1923)

Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts had, from the 1870s on, issued critical editions of virtually all pre-19th century Croatian authors and texts, in edition "Old Croatian Authors", conceived by Jagić and Daničić.



Edition "Old Croatian Authors"

The greatest and most voluminous language work – as different from legal, historical, juridical and diplomatic material- issued by Yugoslav, later Croatian Academy, is their “*Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian language*”, which had been issued for almost 100 years and which contains more than 400,000 Croatian entries, along with marginal Serbian and Church Slavonic material- the biggest Slavic language dictionary. Although still valuable as the language source, this dictionary is now considered to be of predominantly historical importance, not denying its influence on the modern Croatian.



“Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian Language”

The last successful attempt in creation of a more unified language(s) was the work of Croatian neo-grammarians or Croatian Vukovians, associated with the Yugoslav Academy, in the last two decades of the 19th century (Budmani, Broz, Maretić, Pavić, Iveković..) who only permanently changed Croatian orthography from mostly morphemic to mostly phonemic- and that was in accordance with mostly phonemic Croatian writing in pre-Gaj centuries long periods, which Maretić has shown in his study of Croatian writing in Latin script from 1495 to 1835, covering all three Croatian dialects and 95 authors, from Zagreb to Bosnia and the Bay of Kotor in Montenegro and from Istria to Slavonia and Bačka in Vojvodina/southern Hungary.



**Ivan Broz
(1852 - 1893)**

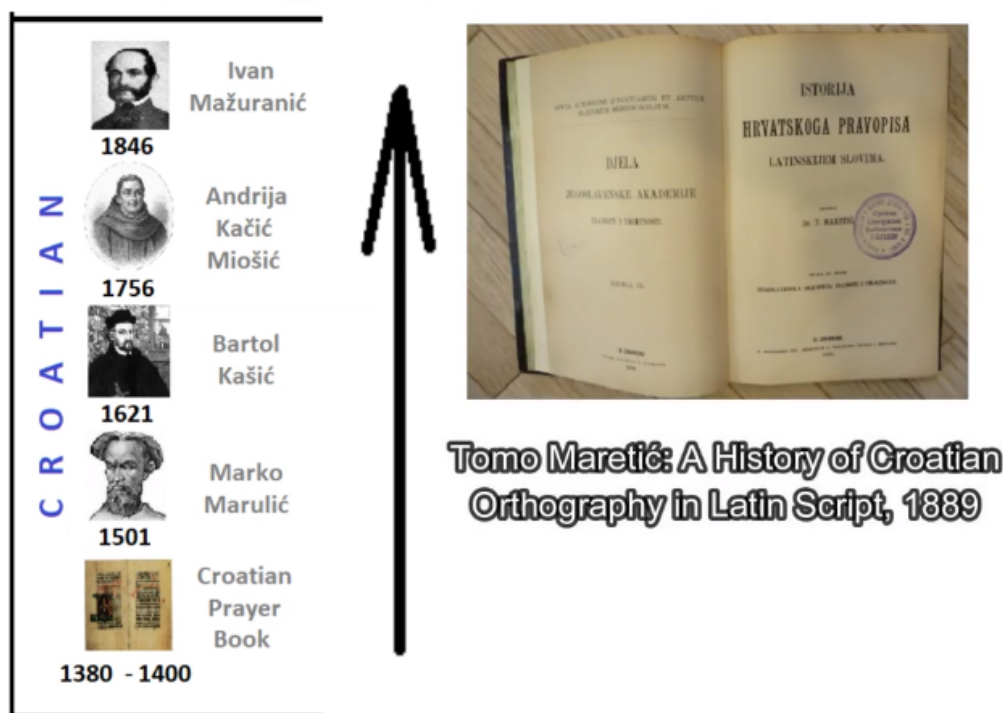
Budmani

Broz

Maretić

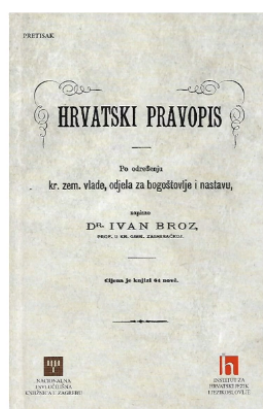
Pavić

Iveković

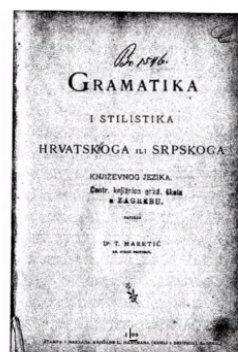


The most influential manual was Ivan Broz's "*Croatian Orthography*", 1892, which was the template for all further Croatian orthographic works.

Monumental grammar of Tomislav Maretić, named "*Grammar and Stylistics of Croatian or Serbian Language*", 1899, founded on the then dominant neo-grammarians principles, fixed most of the modern Croatian grammatical norm. Just, the fact that is was, in the first edition, based exclusively on Karadžić's and Daničić's works, it created a false impression that it was somehow a grammar of Karadžić's Serbian, while in reality it described, systematically, only the common grammatical features of the neo-Štokavian. Ijekavian dialect. All Maretić's prescriptions that intended to modify Croatian grammatical norm so as to bring it closer to Karadžić-Daničić's model, for instance in accentuation, morphology and syntax, were either outright dismissed or simply glossed over.



Ivan Broz: Croatian Orthography, 1892

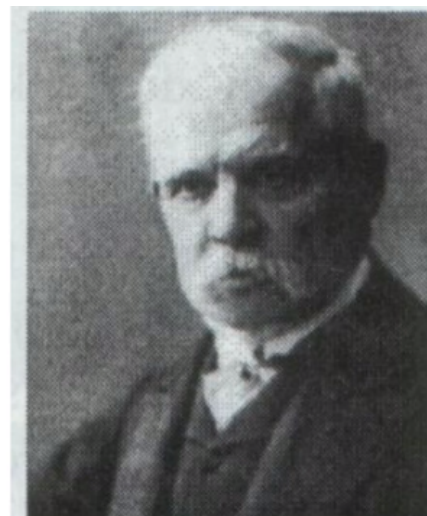
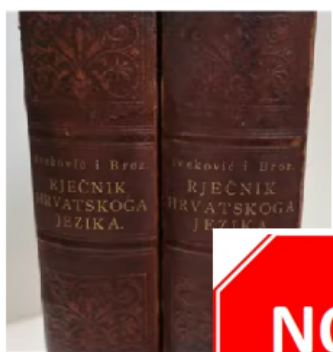


Tomo Maretić: Grammar and Stylistics of Croatian or Serbian Language, 1899

The last work of the latest stage of Croatian neo-grammarian codification was Broz Iveković's "*Croatian Dictionary*", 1901, based on Karadžić's and Daničić's translations and collections, some parts of Stulli's "*Word Formation*" and Yugoslav Academy's dictionary. This work was heavily criticized, especially by Vatroslav Jagić because of lexical impoverishment and one-dimensional approach for not having incorporated most of Croatian writing, particularly in the 19th century and thus being something of a lexicographer's failure.



Broz, Iveković, "Croatian Dictionary", 1901



Having succeeded only in the change of orthography, Croatian neo-grammarians failed in all other areas: they didn't succeed in changing Croatian accentuation, morphology, syntax, stylistics, phraseology, vocabulary.

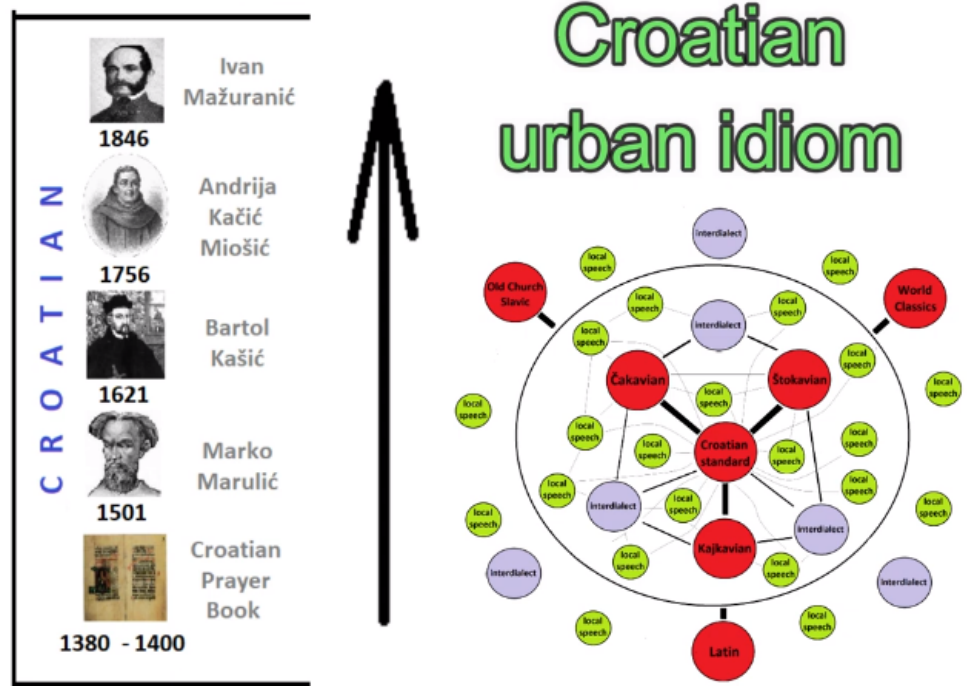
orthography ✓

accentuation, morphology,
syntax, stylistics,
phraseology, vocabulary



More importantly, they couldn't alter the already developed urban idiom, with roots in the then 400 years of secular literature and infused with characteristically Croatian interplay of Kajkavian and Čakavian features around the Western Štokavian highly stylized and developed language idiom which had grown in the milieu of Central European and Mediterranean cultures.

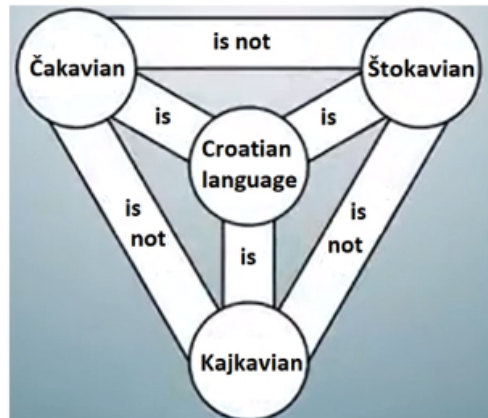
Why they had thought they could have pushed it in a jacket of rustic Karadžić's Eastern neo-Štokavian Ijekavian folk idiom which had developed in a completely different social and cultural matrix of a newly liberated culture from the Ottoman occupation, and following the patterns of a fusion of elements of an old Serbian Byzantine literacy combined with strongly Turkified vocabulary at all levels, from morphological to lexical-remains a mystery.



Karadžić's folk idiom



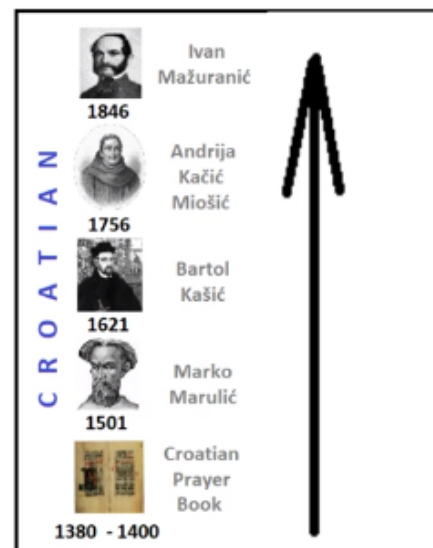
Croatian urban idiom



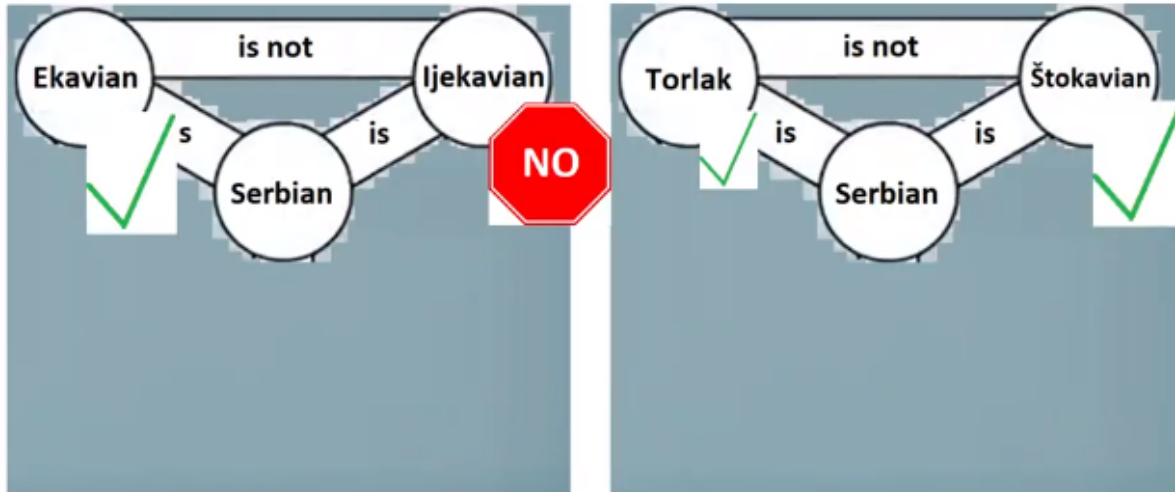
Karadžić's folk idiom



Croatian urban idiom



Adding that Serbian language, contemporary to Croatian Vukovians, had already drifted away with urbanization and absorption of French and Russian stylistic features, as well as mostly abandoning Karadžić's Ijekavian model and accepting mostly Eastern and Southern Serbian grammatical and lexical features, alien even to Karadžić – Croatian neo-grammarians' delusion seems to be even more hard to explain.



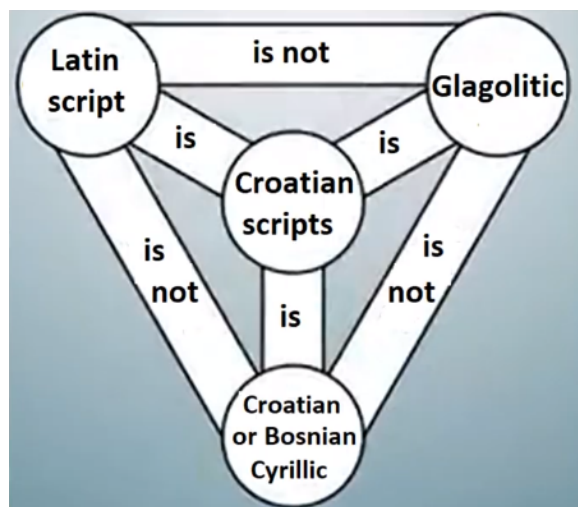
A significant, but useless enterprise was so called "*Skerlić questionnaire*" from 1914, where Jovan Skerlić, eminent Serbian literary critic and historian, published, through various publications in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the proposal for final, as he deemed it, language unity between Serbs and Croats. He suggested that Croats should abandon the Ijekavian jat reflex in their language, while Serbs should abandon their Cyrillic script- all in order to achieve a unified language. Various men of letters, philologists, authors, journalists, publicists and others gave different answers, not achieving any kind of agreement. Considering that language is more than script and a single grammatical feature, this questionnaire remains a testament to immaturity of both Croatian and Serbian literary intellectuals.



Jovan Skerlić
(1877 - 1914)

A B C Č Ć D
 DŽ Đ E F G H
 I J K L Lj M
 N Nj O P R S
 Š T U V Z Ž

Aa Бб Вв Гг Дд
 Ђђ Ѓѓ Ѕѕ
 Ии Јј Љљ
 Мм
 Оо Љ љ Тт
 Ћћ Уу Фф Хх
 Цц Чч Џџ Шш



The names of the languages.

The situation in the last quarter of the 19th century crystallized the situation of this supposedly one language, which was called mostly Serbo-Croatian by German philology, a name most European philology schools had accepted.

The official name for the language was Serbian in Serbia and in Montenegro; in Croatia, it was Croatian after 1868, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina it changed its name from Croatian, then Bosnian, while finally settling for Serbo-Croatian and, less frequently, Croatian or Serbian. The situation was stable until the creation of a new country in 1918.

The new situation emerged in the period from 1918 to 1991, with the interlude during World War 2, from the 1941 to 1945.

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian Slaveno-Serbian
the same name		

The situation was
stable until 1918

GERMAN: Serbo-Croatian

In Serbia and Montenegro:

SERBIAN

In Croatia:

CROATIAN, after 1868

In Bosnia and Herzegovina:

"Croatian or Serbian"

In Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Croatian, Bosnian, Serbo-Croatian

The first, royalist Yugoslavia (until 1929, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) lasted from 1918 to 1941. During that period, after initial enthusiasm among most of its peoples, confrontation among peoples and classes in that country mounted and it lasted until its collapse in 1941, when it was overrun by the Axis forces, which then redraw the boundaries. This situation lasted until 1945, when Communists had triumphed and created a new, Socialist country, which lasted less than five decades and then finally collapsed in 1991. Anyone interested in history can consult numerous works on these two Yugoslav states.





1918 - 1941



1945 - 1991

With regard to language policy, royalist Yugoslavia, while mostly, with some exceptions, respecting Slovene language, tried to fuse Croatian and Serbian languages into one, Serbo- Croatian, where Serbian characteristics, from Ekavian jat to syntax and vocabulary, would clearly dominate. Even Slovenian was supposed to vanish as a separate language, so in some censuses the official language was named "Serbo-Croato-Slovene". The individuality of Macedonian language was not recognized, although Croatian linguist Ivšić openly declared that this was a separate language and not some Serbian dialect.



After initial confusion which lasted for one to two decades, Croats had become fed up with Serbian and Yugoslav – essentially diluted Serbian- impositions and clearly formulated their position on language issues, especially in a book authored by two Croatian linguists, aptly named: “*The Differences between the Croatian and the Serbian Literary Languages*”, literary standing for now prevalent term standard.



Essentially, by the 1920s, Croatian and Serbian standard languages have become so structurally stable that even small outside interventions, still possible in the late 1800s, at least on the superficial levels, were not realistic any more.

During the 1941 to 1945 period, authorities of the Axis-dependent Independent State of Croatia, essentially containing Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, tried to, against the will of most Croatian people and literary community, re-impose older Croatian orthography from the 1870s and to expand the area of neologisms. Although official from 1943 to 1945, older, so called “*root orthography*” did not succeed in fully replacing the Broz orthographic manual from 1892, so a few valuable works in literature, history, philology, political literature, cultural history ... were published in either phonemic or morphemic, “*root*” orthography. Other than that, no further language developments had occurred, except revitalization of Croatian legal and military terminology.

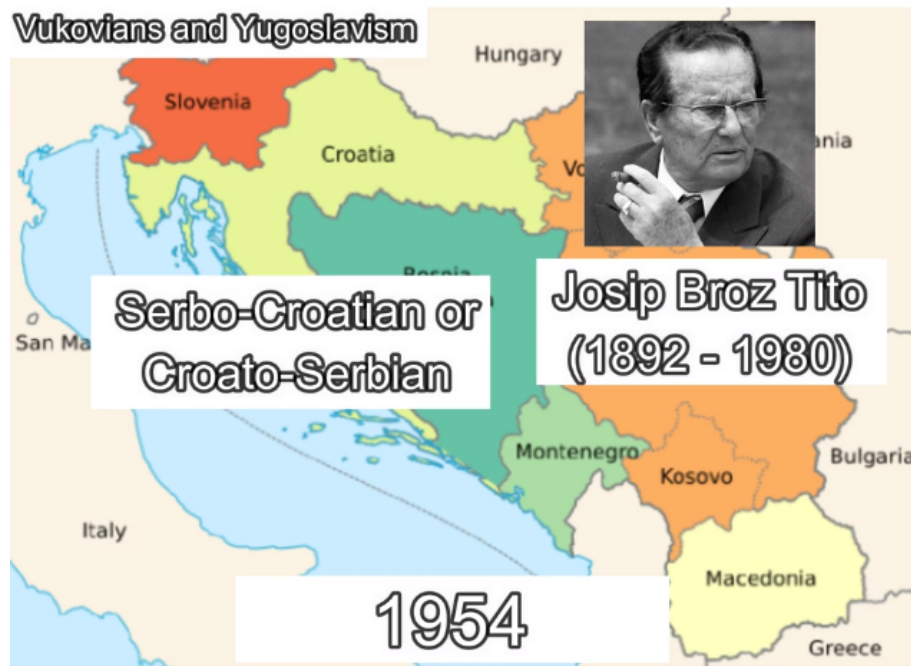


In Serbia, there was an effort to go back to pre-World War 1 orthography and to accentuate traditional Serbian language features, especially in vocabulary.

Montenegro did not have any cultural activity worth mentioning, while Macedonia and Slovenia were completely occupied and culturally non-existent.

In new, Communist dominated Yugoslavia, four South Slavic languages were initially recognized: Slovene, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian. But, this state did not last long: in 1954 was, after a superficial discussion, imposed the so-called the Novi Sad Agreement, which stated that Croatian and Serbian are one language which should be named Serbo-Croatian and, as a formal concession to Croats, Croato-Serbian. This "agreement" was signed by many Serbian, Bosnian Muslim, Croatian and Montenegrin intellectuals and writers. Although, technically, the initiative for this political and cultural upheaval came from Serbian institutions, it is evident that the source was the highest Yugoslav political leadership, which tried to create some kind of official language for the entire country, at least in many areas, spanning from administration to the military. The atmosphere among Croats had been that of defeat and animosity, with very few exceptions; Serbs were satisfied, while Muslims and Montenegrins had not possessed a crystallized opinion on the issue. In practice, this "agreement" resulted in expansion of Serbian lexical, orthographic and grammatical features at the expense of the Croatian, while simultaneously Croatian Latin script had been gaining ground in Serbia, due to Yugoslav cultural orientation to the West.





Croatian dissatisfaction culminated in 1967, with the Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Literary Language, which stated that Croatian and Serbian are two different literary or standard languages, and not variants of one language. The Declaration was signed by virtually all Croatian cultural institutions and intellectuals. It was widely condemned by Yugoslav authorities, but it essentially rang the death knell to the Serbo-Croatian language ideology and its theses were implemented in the 1974 constitution of Socialist Republic of Croatia.



Vukovians and Yugoslavism



MODERN TIMES

With the disintegration and collapse of Yugoslavia in 1990 to 1991, Croats had finally gotten rid of Serbo-Croatism as an ideology and continued to cultivate their own language traditions.

Modern times 1991 - 2021



1990 - 1991

One sign is the reprint of older Croatian dictionaries and grammars: from 1945 to 1990, less than 10 of them had been reprinted, a half of them authored by Vukovians like Tomislav Maretić; on the other hand, in next three decades, the number of published reprints of Croatian dictionaries and grammars, beginning in the 16th century, grew to over 40.

Modern times

REPRINTS

5 Vukovian and 5 non-Vukovian
(1945 - 1991)

40 Croatian from the 16th century
(1991 - 2021)

1991 - 2021

The Serbian language community also got rid of the Serbo-Croatian name and went back to Serbian, but with incessant efforts to culturally appropriate parts of Croatian language heritage, especially in imaginative literature, while mostly ignoring their older language corpus before the 18th to 19th centuries. Thus, regional Croatian literature from Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Slavonia, from the 1500s to the early 1800s is taught at Serbian high schools and universities either as Serbian literature, or as some unspecified Renaissance, Baroque and Classicist literature. Although Cyrillic is the official script in Serbia, Croatian Gaj alphabet is prevalent in everyday usage.

Modern times



Modern times



Bosnian Muslims or Bosniaks have, from the 1990s, proclaimed that their national language is Bosnian and have been trying to shape it as a language based on neo-Štokavian Ijekavian, written in the Latin Gaj script, but in vocabulary and orthography somewhere between Croatian and Serbian.

For Croats and Serbs, a more appropriate name of Bosniaks' language would be Bosniak, and not Bosnian, because this name creates a confusion, implying that a language of one of the three nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina is essentially a state language of that country. Also, there is a tendency to re-introduce a few Oriental Islamic loan-words, mostly forgotten after the 19th century. In contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is an international protectorate, three official languages are recognized: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. Croatian is the most fully different in all areas, from grammar to vocabulary, while Serbian, in its Ijekavian variant is distinguishable by the predominantly Cyrillic Serbian script.

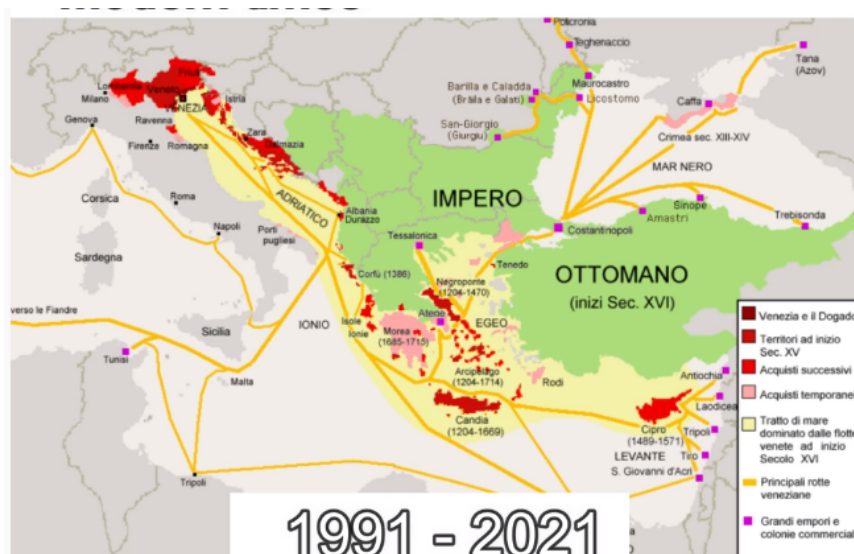
Bosnian language

Bosniak => Bosniak language

**Bosnians (Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks)
Bosnian language**

**Bosniak
Bosniak language**

1991 - 2021





Montenegrin language was introduced in the beginning of the 21st century with addition of two new graphemes and a few characteristically Montenegrin language grammatical features. The language situation in Montenegro is still unstable.

Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian are officially recognized as different languages by various international institutions. On the other hand, in practice, only Croatian and Serbian function fully as standard languages, while Bosnian, and Montenegrin even more, are still in the initial phases of full language standardization.



At the end, we could again address the question: why are Croatian and Serbian so similar?

Modern times

why are Croatian and Serbian so similar?



The answer is already given in the preceding parts, but can be summarized thusly:

- Both standard languages are based on neo-Štokavian dialect.
- Serbian language has, with Vuk Karadžić, generally abandoned its historical and cultural physiognomy and has become, in some aspects, Croatianized, following in a few areas by then 300 years old Croatian vernacular literacy. But it didn't become just a variety of Croatian simply due to its reliance on specifically Serbian vernacular basis, as well as in efforts in archaization of higher language forms and openness to Russian and Turkish language influences, combined with typical Balkan grammatical forms it shares with Greek and Bulgarian- for instance, marginalization of the infinitive.
- Croatian language has retained its continuity and individuality as the Western Štokavian based language constantly interweaving with its Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects, which had been, during Croatian history, fully fledged literary languages that gave precedence to Štokavian as the national standard language, but never ceased to enrich and modify it. This process has its roots in the 16th century, but began in earnest at the beginning of the 17th century, during the period of Baroque Slavism. Other neo-Štokavian based languages also do not possess centuries old written culture in the vernacular which could serve as the source of further enrichment and stylistic individualization, nor do they share a typical Croatian trait- which is, by the way, even more pronounced in Slovene, Hungarian and Czech – linguistic purism expressed in the word-coinage or neologisms.

why are Croatian and Serbian so similar?

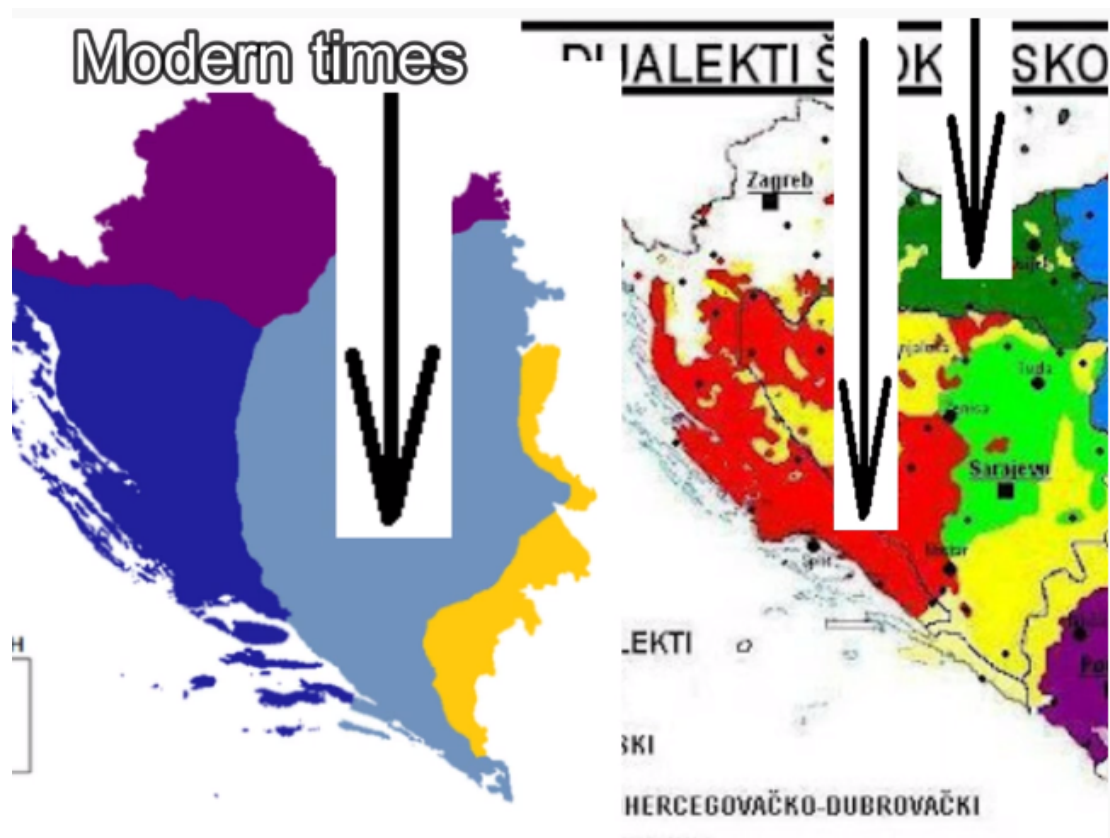


Modern times

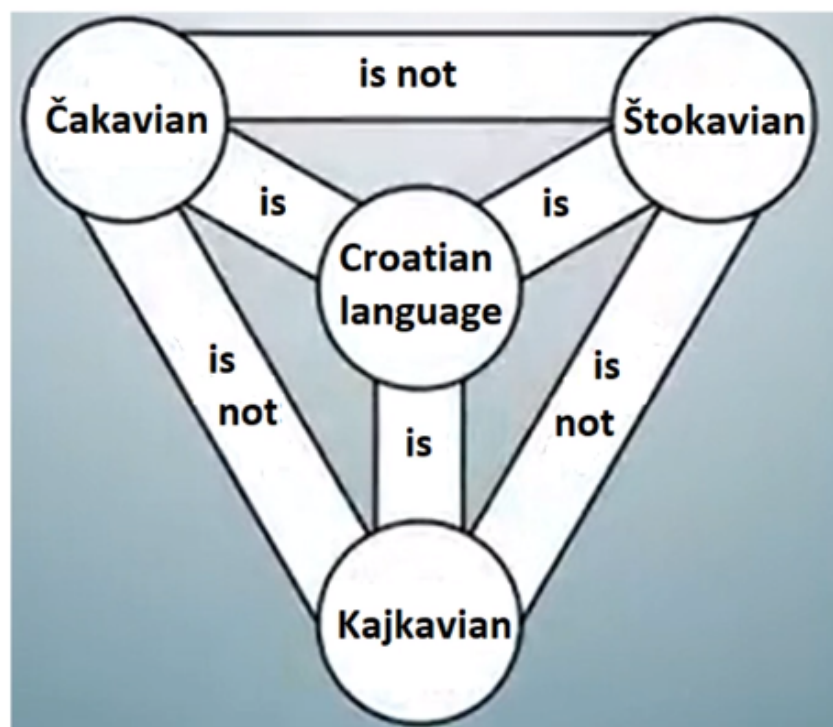
CROATIAN		SERBIAN	
 1846	Ivan Mažuranić	 1818	Vuk Karadžić
 1756	Andrija Kačić Miošić		
 1621	Bartol Kašić		
 1501	Marko Marulić		
 1380 - 1400	Croatian Prayer Book		

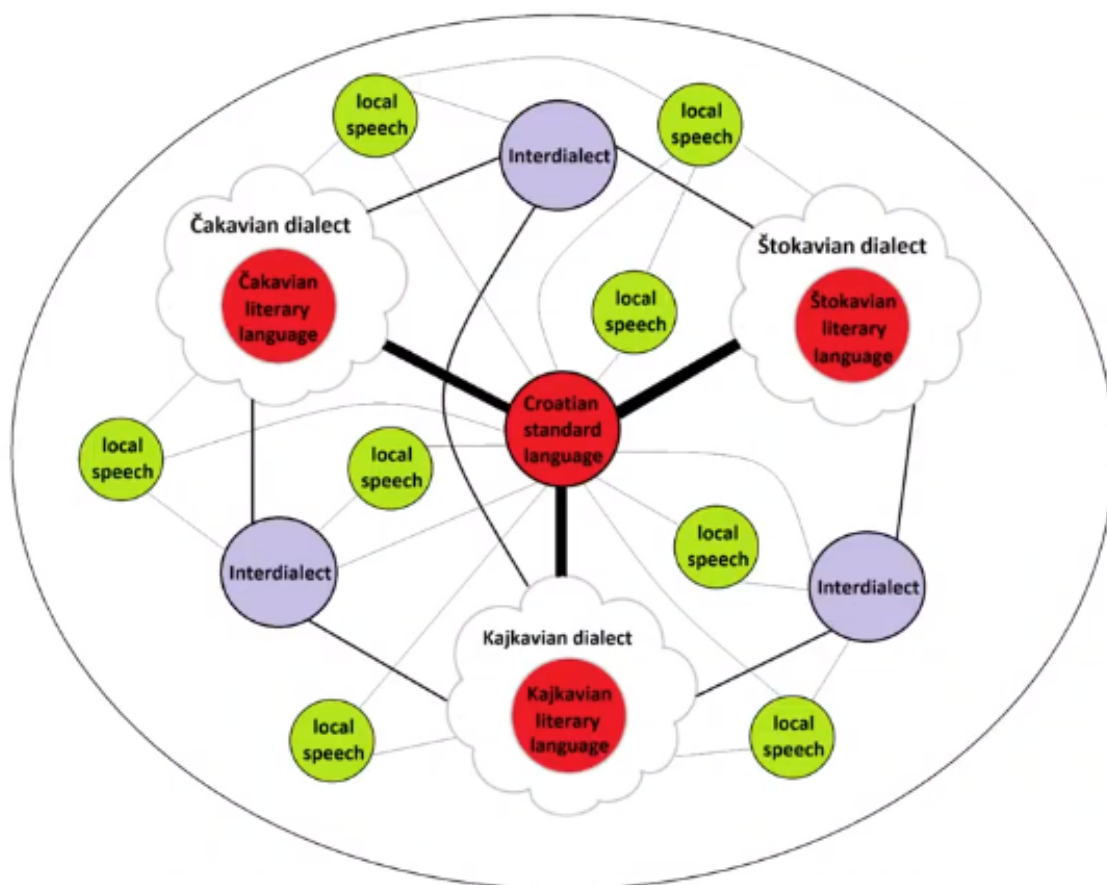
Serbian language

the 19th century



Modern times





Literature the 16th century

Hrvatska
Kriješnica

Misal po zakonu
rinskoga dvora

1483

Marko Marulić,
Judita

1501

Marin Držić,
Dundo Maroje

1551

Antun Vramec,
Kronika

1578

17th century

LITERATURE IN THE 16th CENTURY

Zadar

Split

Hvar

Dubrovnik

North West
Croatia

Čakavian

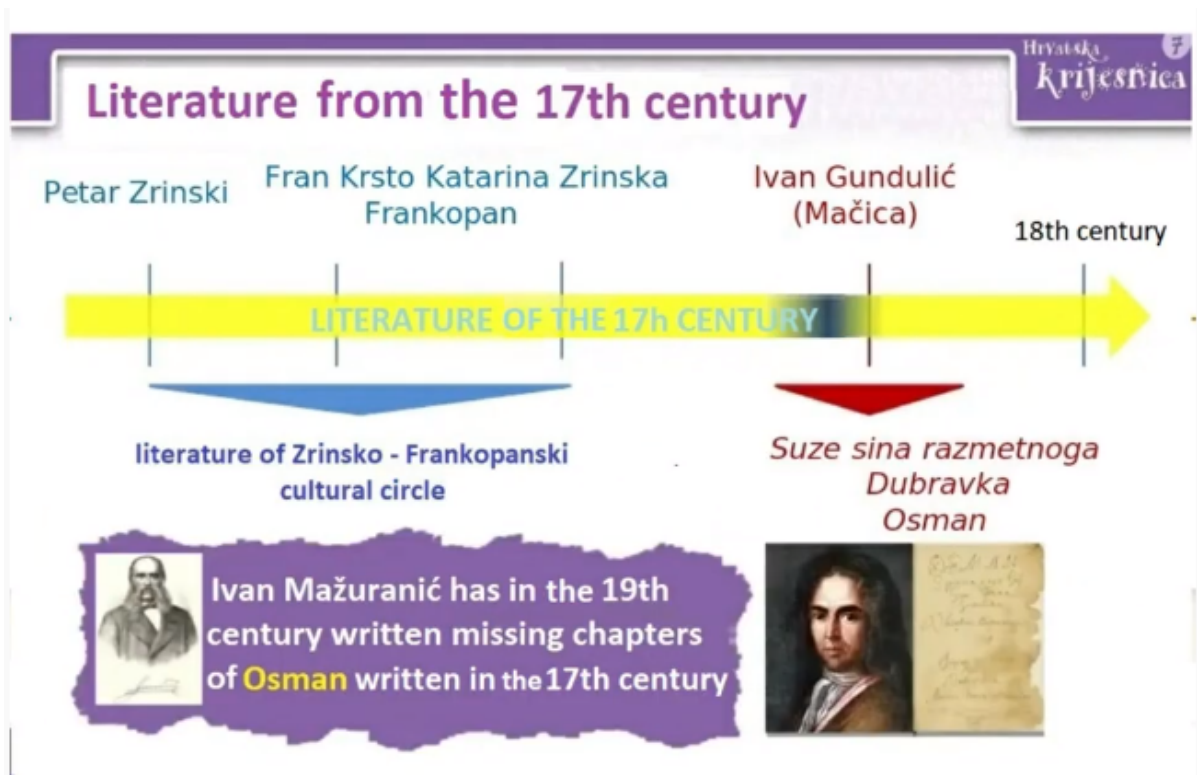
Štokavian

Kajkavian



Croatian literature in the 16th century were written:

Čakavian in Split, Hvar and Zadar, Štokavian in Dubrovnik
and Kajkavian in North West Croatia



purism





In the case of Bosnian, it is instructive to study religious manuals from the 1850s, now transcribed from the Arabic script to the contemporary Croatian Gaj's alphabet. These manuals are now virtually incomprehensible because most of their vocabulary, not just religious, but also everyday speech, consists of Arabic, Persian and Turkish loan words (for instance, terms for a believer, human being, animal, heaven, physician, house,..) which cannot be understood by contemporary ordinary Bosnian language speaker, let alone Serbian and Croatian. This shows how a language profile depends on historical and cultural circumstances, because Bosnian Muslim elites have emigrated in masse to the Ottoman empire following the Austrian occupation in 1878.

Modern times



One should not overlook the fundamental fact that from the mid-19th century those languages have been artificially brought together and through the Yugoslav ideology, having school system and state apparatus at the disposal, the goal of imagined and imposed “closeness” or even complete fusion into one standard language had been implemented, especially in the two Yugoslav states, first from 1918 to 1941, the second from 1945 to 1991. These efforts, whichever their motivation, ultimately failed due to ineradicable individuality of Croatian and Serbian, but left a legacy of higher mutual intelligibility than would have been expected otherwise.

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian Slaveno-Serbian
the same name	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
communication intelligibility	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
the same written corpus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
identity and cultural unity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
standardization at the same place and in the same time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A subtler and more analytical approach to those similar languages, surpassing the level of schematic, elementary primers for beginners' position of not few (of course, not all, nor a majority) non-South Slavic linguists can be found in works of some Croatian linguists, and Branka Tafra in particular. For her, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin are for Croatian language speakers not foreign languages (like, say, Japanese, French or Swedish). They are alien languages, understandable to a high degree, but due to Croatian language strong individuality rooted in history and interweaving with other Croatian dialectal literary languages- alien.



Contribution for the history of
Croatian linguistics, Branka Tafra, 2012



not foreign,
but alien

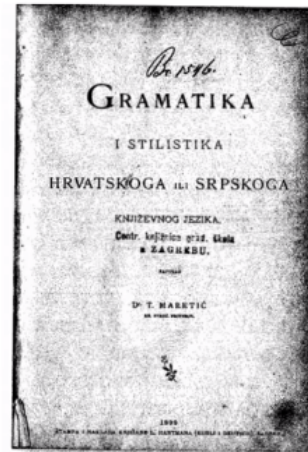
We will get close to the end in this video with a true historical anecdote. Brilliant Croatian author, Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914) who wrote poetry, essays, travelogues, literary criticism, short stories, political polemics and feuilletons had resided in Serbia for more than 8 years. In one instance, Matoš wrote an anonymous political article for some Serbian newspaper, hiding his identity. It was supposed that the text would be ascribed to a Serbian journalist. But- it was instantly recognized that some Croatian language speaker wrote that article (although they did not know it was him). So, Croatian language "spirit", as reflected in phraseology, grammatical features, stylistics, lexicon-thwarted his effort to write a text in Serbian, although he tried, and more- he was writing in the period

when Croatian and Serbian were not as crystallized as they are now, and in a relatively low-brow journalist functional style. And if a great writer who had been living in Serbia for years didn't succeed in "*passing as a Serbian speaker*"- it is highly unlikely that an ordinary citizen could accomplish that.



Antun Gustav Matoš
(1873 - 1914)

Even a more absurd example is that of the most famous Croatian neo-grammarian and virtually the addict to Karadžić's works, philologist and translator Tomislav Maretić, the author of the best Croatian or Serbian neo-Štokavian descriptive grammar, the central and authoritative grammar until the second half of the 20th century. Maretić spent years and years poring over Daničić's and Karadžić's works; as a specialist, he studied both Croatian and Serbian literary and philological works and studies for decades. And yet, when he was, in his early 70s, invited to deliver a speech as a guest of honor for Daničić's anniversary, held in Belgrade in 1925 and in the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes- he tried to show the unity of Croatian and Serbian by giving a speech in Serbian. And he simply- failed. A man who studied Serbian language for decades and was a great professional philologist- couldn't speak fluent Serbian language.



Tomislav Maretić
(1854 - 1938)

True, there are conspicuous exceptions to the rule that flawless active knowledge of either Croatian or Serbian cannot be obtained not just easily, but without much effort for other South Slavic languages' speakers. Croatian author Miroslav Krleža had portrayed in his multi-voluminous novel "*Banners*" a few Serbian characters who speak very plastic and distinctly individualized Serbian language; another example is Zagreb-born Serbian author Bora Ćosić, creatively obsessed, among other figures, with Krleža who is the hero of his two highly imaginative and idiosyncratic alternative history novels. Here, as elsewhere, Ćosić shows indubitable mastery of the Croatian language and sovereign playfulness with it. But- these authors are lords of languages. Their supreme accomplishments in both these close languages show they are language wizards to whom ordinary rules do not apply.



Miroslav Krleža
(1893 - 1981)

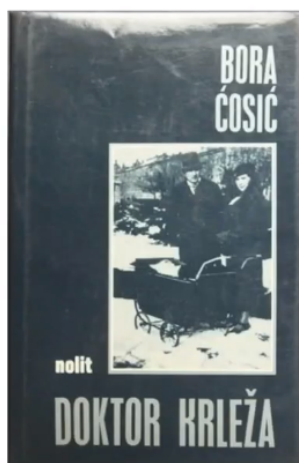


Banners

Modern times



Bora Ćosić
(1932 -)



THE ROLE OF LINGUISTICS

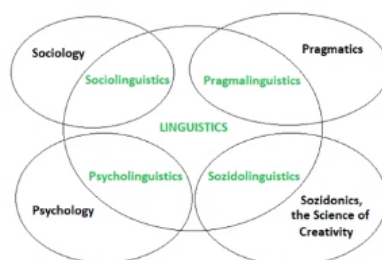
We shall end this video with a few intriguing statements, questions and possible answers.

The role of linguistics

intriguing statements

question

possible answers



First- the role of linguistics is, by all accounts, overrated with regard to language identity and its classification. The number of living languages wildly varies, from over 6000 to over 8000, and in some linguistic atlases over 10,000. There is a bewildering variety of misconceptions, confusing definitions, inappropriate qualifications and much else, simply due to the fact that linguistics is not an exact science- although some of its branches are rather exact, in comparison with historiography or psychology, let alone literary theory- and that “being a language” status has not much to do with its status among various types of linguists.

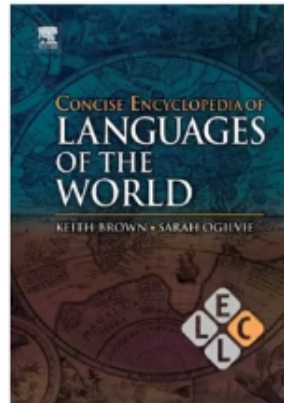
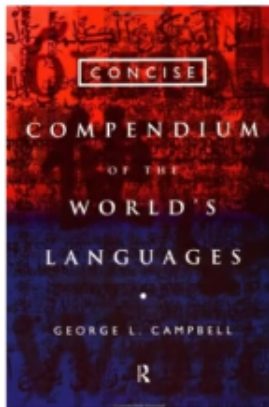
	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian, Slaveno-Serbian	English		?	
the same name	✗		✓		?	
communication intelligibility	✓		✓		✓	
the same written corpus	✗		✓		?	
identity and cultural unity	✗		✓		✗	
standardization at the same place and in the same time	✗		✓		✗	



Map 2.1. Indo-European languages of Europe.

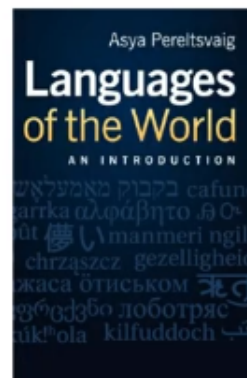
Note: Yiddish is not mapped.





6,000 to over 8,000

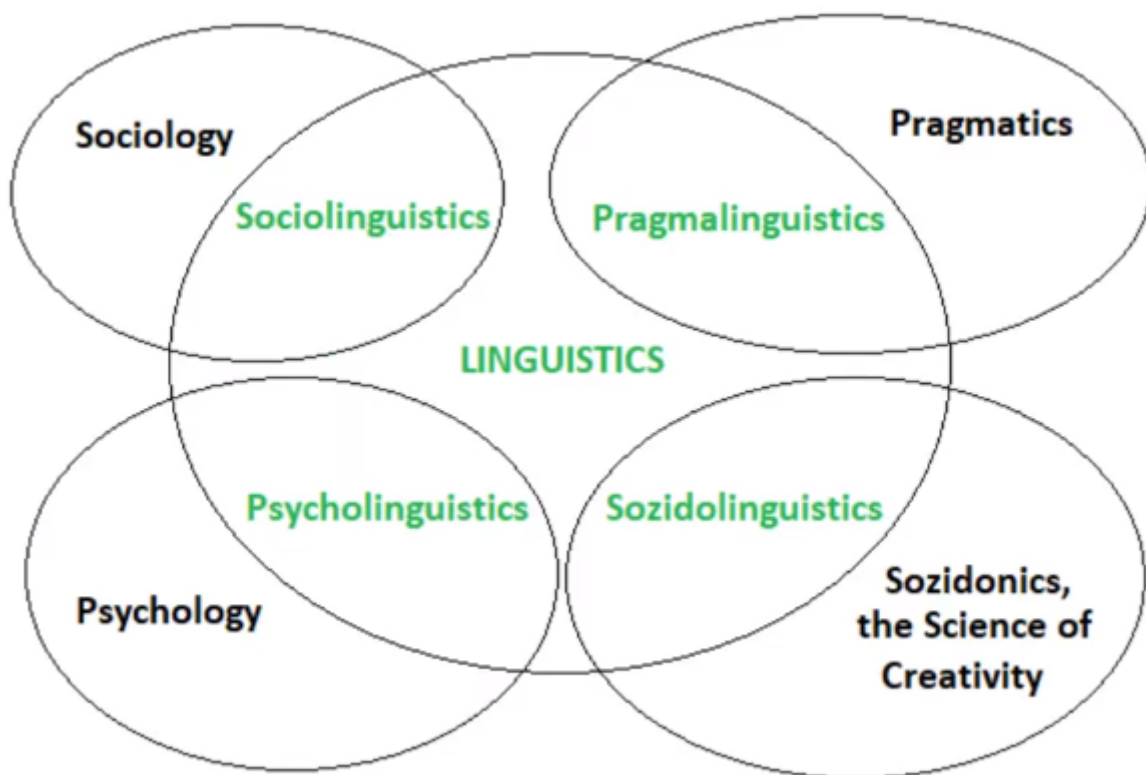
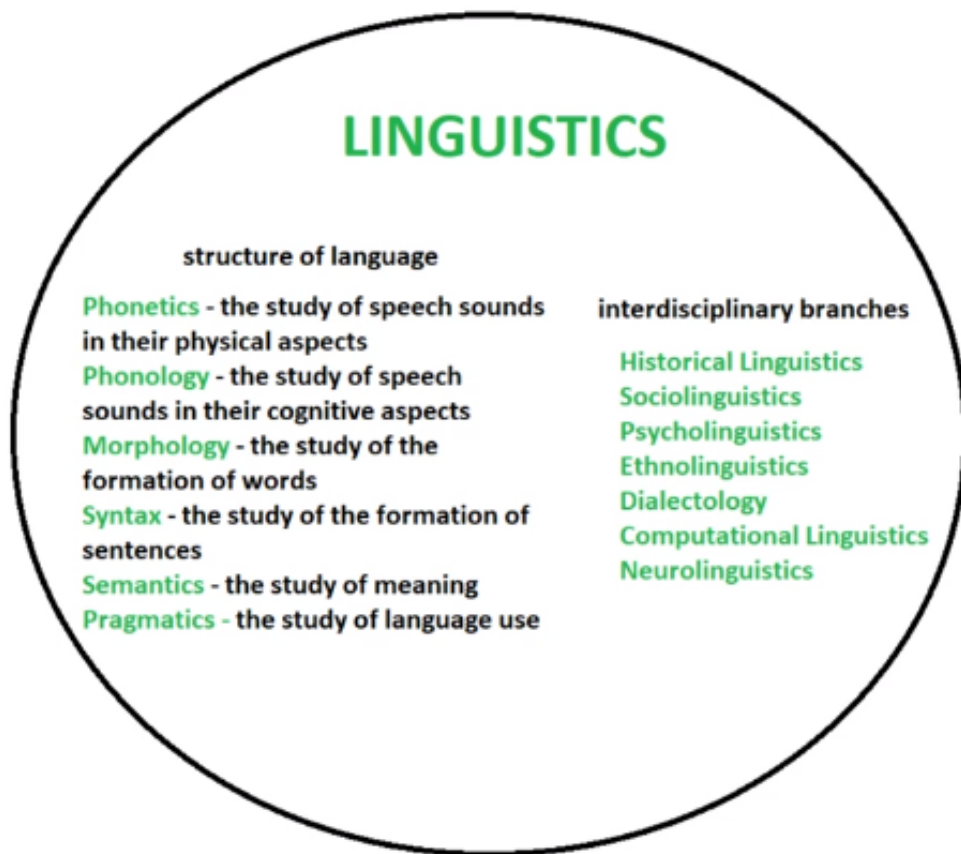
in some linguistic
atlases over 10,000



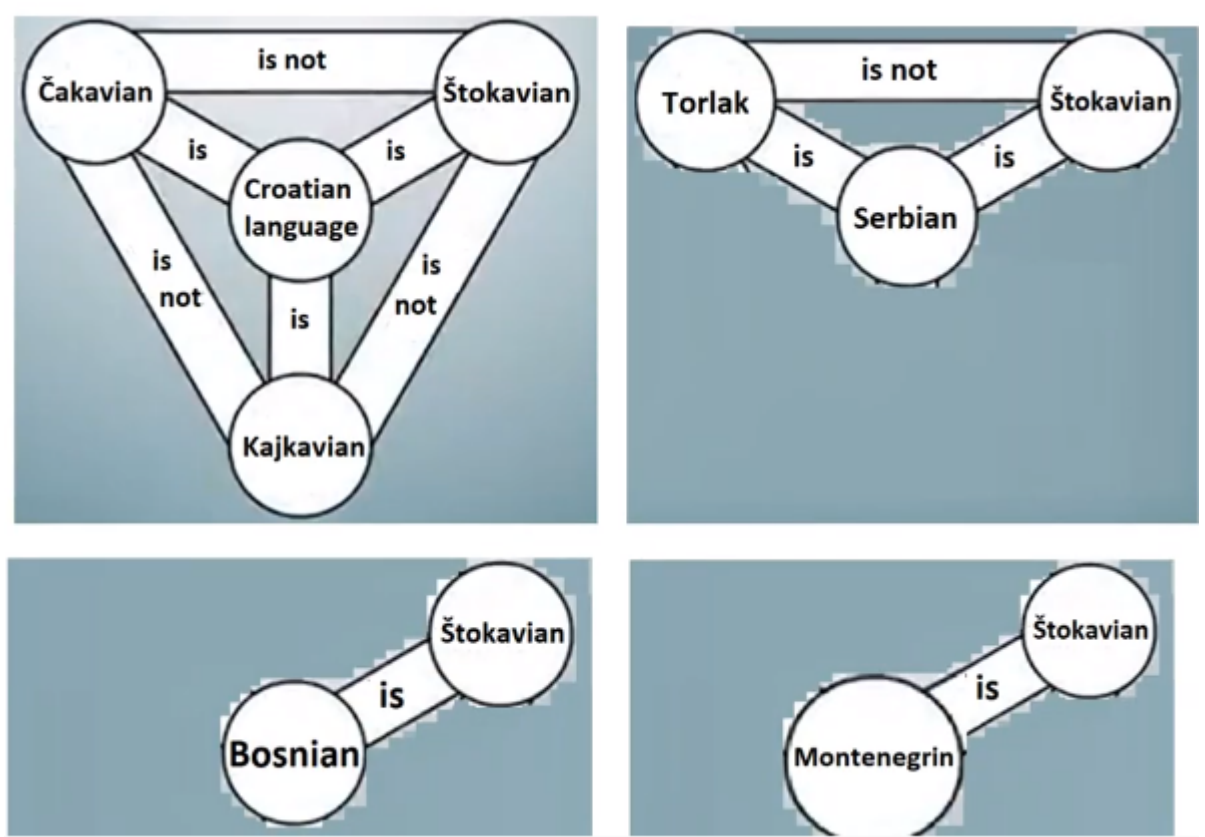
misconceptions

confusing definitions

inappropriate qualifications



Human languages evolved in communities of speakers, and it is these communities, not any group of linguists, which are decisive in whether one form of structured communication codes would be considered a separate language, or a variety of one language.



Typical cases are Hindi and Urdu. Significantly enough, Urdu and Hindi are classified as separate standard languages and in their description, linguists frequently write extensively about their history as literary languages, going back to hundreds of years, with the primacy belonging to Urdu. And yet, when it comes to Croatian and Serbian, except in a few examples like Rehder's book on Slavic languages, all of a sudden-linguists seem to suddenly develop signs of amnesia. They seem to think that Croatian and Serbian somehow emerged in the mid- to second half of the 19th century, as if nothing had been written in Serbian, and especially Croatian, centuries ago. This blindness to elementary logic of is astounding. Perhaps it is the best verdict on mental, moral, intellectual and "scientific" status of Serbo-Croatian language ideology.

	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	?	?
the same name	?	?
communication intelligibility	✓	✓
the same written corpus	?	?
identity and cultural unity	✗	✗
standardization at the same place and in the same time	✗	✗







	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian Slaveno-Serbian
the same name		
communication intelligibility		
the same written corpus		
identity and cultural unity		
standardization at the same place and in the same time		



Einführung in die slavischen Sprachen

Herausgegeben
von Peter Rehder

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BUCHGESELLSCHAFT



CROATIAN	 Ivan Mažuranić 1846	SERBIAN	 Vuk Karadžić 1818	Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic	 Jovan Rajič 1790	Slavono Serbian	 Dositej Obradović 1783
	 Andrija Kačić Miošić 1756						
	 Bartol Kašić 1621						
	 Marko Marulić 1501						
	 Croatian Prayer Book 1380 - 1400						

Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic	 Dušan's Code 1349	Saint Sava 1169 - 1236
	 1169 - 1236	

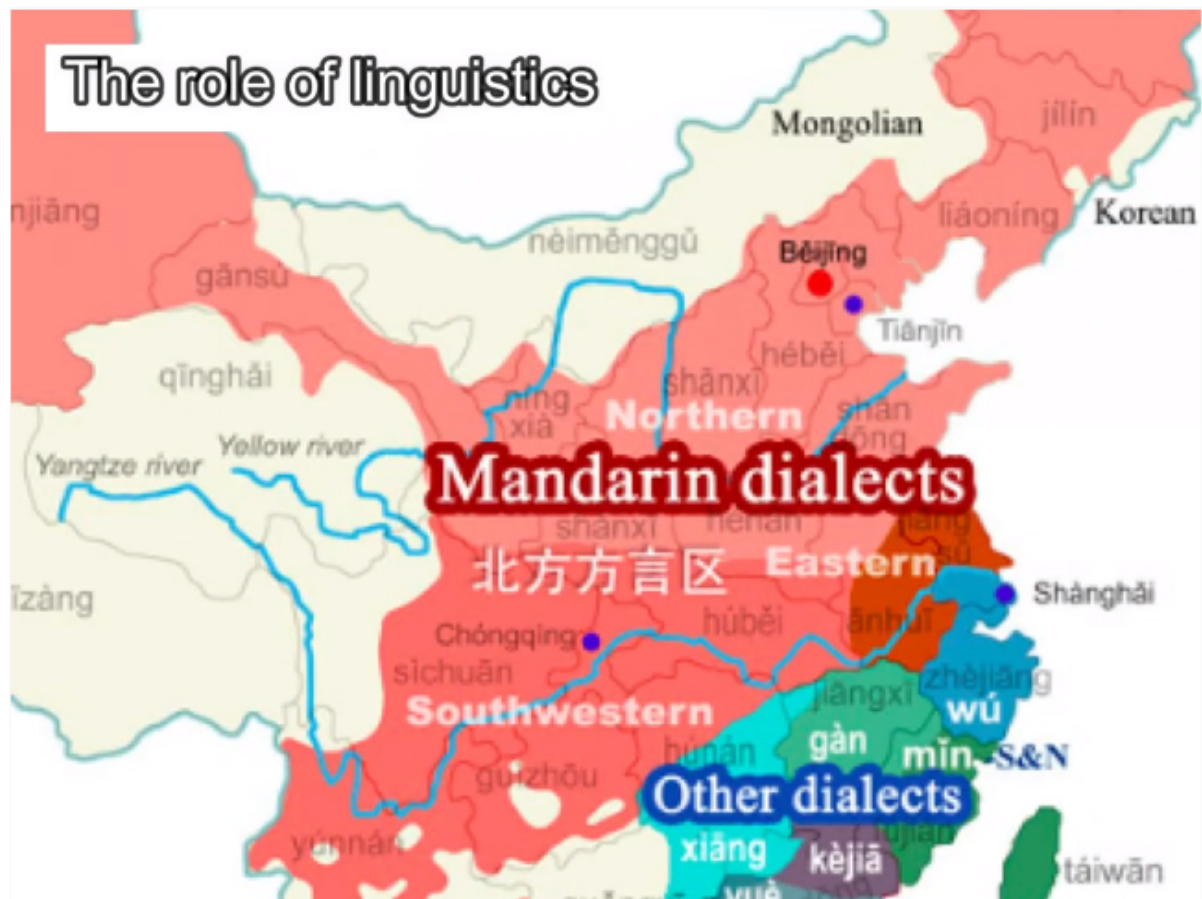
Croatian dominant literary heritage until 1800		Serbian dominant literary heritage until 1800	
 Joakim Stulli 1805		 Jovan Rajič 1790	
 Ivan Belostenec 1740	 Matija Antun Relković 1767	 Aleksije Vezilić 1785	
 Juraj Habdelić 1670	 Ardelio Della Bella 1728	 Zaharije Orfelin 1783	
 Matija Divković 1611	 Bartol Kašić 1621	 Dositej Obradović 1783	
 Marin Držić 1551	 Dinko Zlatarić 1597		

Chinese languages or dialects are another topic. Western linguists insist that, according to their criteria, these are separate Chinese languages; the Chinese, on the other hand, won't have none of it and dismiss this all, saying that these are just dialects or varieties of one, Chinese language, and that strength of 4,000 years old Chinese culture and the

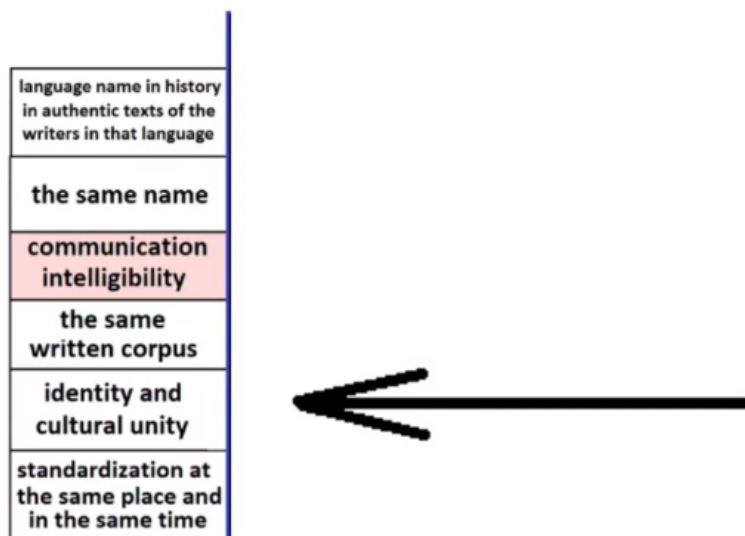
will of a billion and a half Chinese people matter more than some linguistic constructs, stemming from a specifically European circumstances and not applicable to the Chinese historical-cultural milieu. The Chinese don't question mathematics or physics- but they do linguistics or historiography. Be as it may, the self-consciousness and the determination of a language community leaves many professional linguists puzzled or confused, relegating non-negligible parts of their scientific endeavor to debatable gray areas of dubious scientific integrity or status.



The role of linguistics



The role of linguistics



Various historical examples are mixed, Croatian and Serbian are close to Hindi and Urdu examples, as well as to the Malaysians and Indonesian case. Arabic, is on the other hand, Dachsprache, covering many Arabic languages and dialects. What is the ultimate judge in such matters is not some percentage of grammatical features, nor intelligibility. What is decisive is whether one language community knows it speaks their own national language, and not a variety of some different, supra-national and historically individualized language codified elsewhere. Either your own national language rooted in history, culture and identity, or a variety of a language either acquired from others, Hiberno English, or a slightly modified regional form of common language standard which came into existence through colonial and demographic expansion, American English.

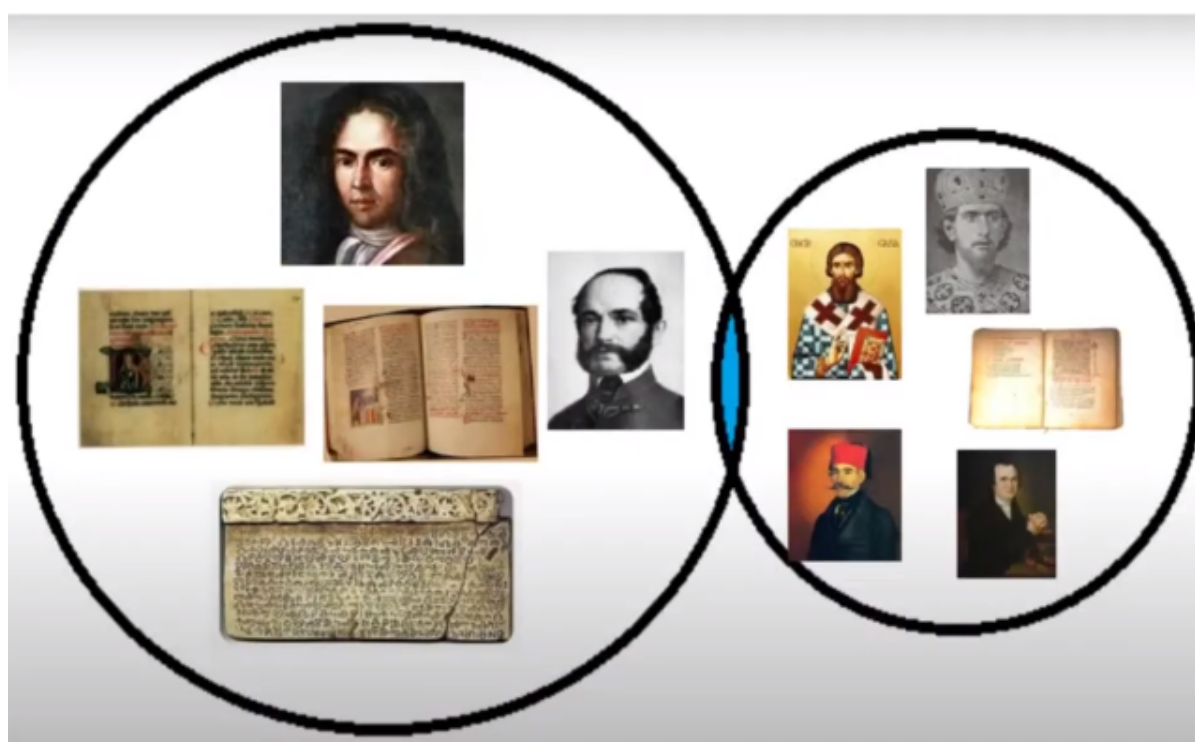
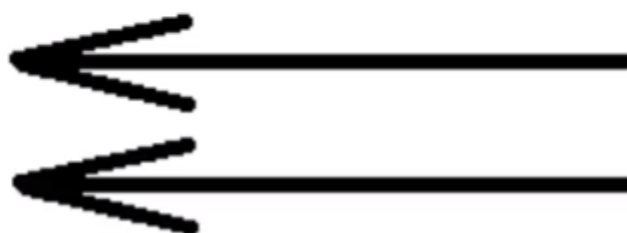
Croatian and Serbian

Hindi and Urdu

Malaysian and Indonesian

Arabic languages and dialects

language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language
the same name
communication intelligibility
the same written corpus
identity and cultural unity
standardization at the same place and in the same time



HIBERNO ENGLISH

**variety of a language either
acquired from others**

AMERICAN ENGLISH

**slightly modified regional
form of common language
standard which came into
existence through colonial
and demographic
expansion,**

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST SERBO-CROATIAN

In the case of Croatian language, many non-South Slavic, as well as Slavic linguists, remain divided. Those of traditional orientation, whom German Slavist Leopold Auburger had called followers of Serbo-Croatian language ideology, still insist that Croatian and Serbian form one standard language, the reason for that contention, according to Auburger, being they had been taught so for decades. At some levels, they could be right, but their position stems from confusing languages as a system of dialects and languages as modern standard languages.



Wayles Browne
(1941 -)



Kenneth E. Naylor, Jr.
(1937 - 1992)



Greenberg Robert
David



Arguments for and against Serbo-Croatian

A Handbook of Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian

by Wayles Brown and Theresa Alt

© SEELRC 2004

page 7

0. Introduction

Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are three standardized forms based on very similar linguistic material. For many people the term "language" means standardized form of a language, and in this meaning we can speak of a Bosnian language, a Croatian language, and a Serbian language. "Language" can also be a system that permits communication, and in this meaning we can consider all three to make up one language. Serbo-Croatian was the traditional term. The non-native learner will usually want to choose to concentrate on Bosnian or Croatian or Serbian, but learning any of these actively plus some knowledge of the differences will permit the learner to take part in the communication system throughout the whole area. This description will use the term BCS to denote what the three standards have in common. The differences in grammar are not very numerous and will be discussed

To what degree are Croatian and Serbian the same language?

Evidence from a Translation Study*

John Frederick Bailyn
Stony Brook University

1. Introduction

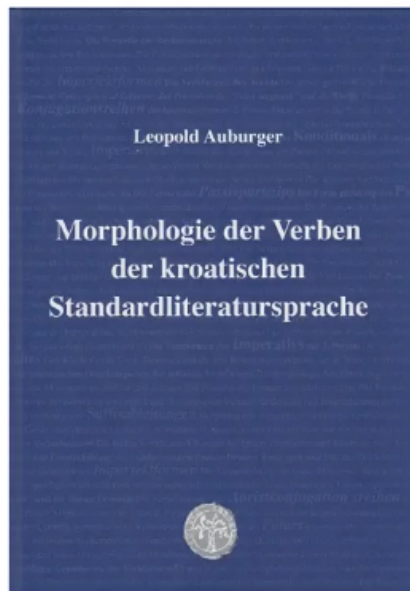
The purpose of this article is to argue, on the basis of the comparison of purely grammatical *building-blocks*, exposed through a particular kind of experimental study, that the (standard) languages referred to as Croatian and Serbian are the same language, and should be acknowledged and treated as such.¹ (I assume further, that if this point can be demonstrated for Croatian and Serbian, the argument extends directly to what are now being called Bosnian and Montenegrin.) A central assumption behind this claim, and behind the entire article, is that the

the cultural uniqueness of any of the peoples involved. Rather, the issue at hand has been a narrow linguistic one – how similar are the linguistic systems, and is there any linguistic justification for defining them as unique. We have seen that there is not.

Of course, the Western and Eastern variants of BCS might well still develop into different languages. Usually, such divergence happens when rule-governed sound changes lead to



followers of
Serbo-Croatian
language ideology



system of dialects

modern standard



Their main argument, it seems, boils down to three components:

- standard languages are mutually intelligible at ordinary levels;
- they have virtually the same core grammar, from phonology to syntax;
- they have been traditionally called “Serbo-Croatian” by the international linguistic community for decades.

1. standard languages are mutually intelligible at ordinary levels











2. they have virtually the same core grammar from phonology to syntax

3. they have been traditionally called “Serbo-Croatian”

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slovenian, Slaveno-Serbian
the same name		
communication intelligibility		
the same written corpus		
identity and cultural unity		
standardization at the same place and in the same time		



language intelligibility for speakers of other, similar languages, trump its individuality ?
Who is to decide that? And why or how?

<u>UNDERSTANDABLE WITH MODERN STANDARDS</u>		<u>NOT-UNDERSTANDABLE SERBIAN WITH MODERN STANDARDS</u>	
CROATIAN	 1846 Ivan Mažuranić	SERBIAN	 1818 Vuk Karadžić
	 1756 Andrija Kačić Miošić		Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1790 Jovan Rajić
	 1621 Bartol Kašić	Slaveno Serbian  1783 Dositej Obradović	
	 1501 Marko Marulić	Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1349 Dušan's Code  1169 - 1236 Saint Sava	
	 1380 - 1400 Croatian Prayer Book		

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian, Slaveno-Serbian
the same name		
communication intelligibility		
the same written corpus		
identity and cultural unity		
standardization at the same place and in the same time		

1. mutually intelligible at ordinary levels



Or why would a language intelligibility for speakers of other, similar languages, trump its individuality?

Second- language core grammar can easily be altered- Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian have 30 phonemes, but Montenegrin 32. There are completely realistic proposals, mainly in Croatian language planning, to reduce the number of Croatian phonemes to 28 or 29, or increase them to numbers 33 or 34 (they are already present in the Croatian, just not “officially” recognized). With regards to morphosyntactic structures, there are also initiatives, which would aim at reviving older, basically Croatian language characteristics from the 18th and 19th centuries, for instance the different types of cases in the plural nouns, wider application of participles, aorist or imperfect, and syntactic structures prevalent or at least present in the significant part in Croatian writing from the 16th to the early 19th centuries, but which have, due to the policy of unification of Croatian and Serbian, can now be found only in two to three centuries old Croatian literature, but have virtually vanished from the everyday speech and only language virtuosi translators use them in translations of classics, from Aristotle to Rabelais, or from Tasso to the Buddhist Tripitaka.

Second-language core grammar can easily be altered- Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian have 30 phonemes, but Montenegrin 32

There are completely realistic proposals, mainly in Croatian language planning, to reduce the number of Croatian phonemes to 28 or 29, or increase them to numbers 33 or 34

I. Škarić: Kakav pravopis (između fonetike i fonologije)

UDK 811.163.42'35
81'35

Izvorni znanstveni rad - studija

Ivo Škarić
Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb
Hrvatska

**KAKAV PRAVOPIS
(IZMEĐU FONETIKE I FONOLOGIE*)**

SAŽETAK

U članku se teorijski raspravlja o razlici između glasnika i fonema te zaključuje da bitna razlika nije u širini pojma ili stupnju apstraktnosti tih

- da se, jer dobar c
inventar hrvatske
da se uvede pos
- da se **jat** ne piše
(*dijete/djeteta*), n
- da se umjesto 4,

- da se, jer dobar dio Hrvata slabo razlikuje č i ć, a da dž praktički ne spada u fonetski inventar hrvatskoga jezika, **hrvatska abeceda** reducira na č i đ (tj. da otpadnu ć i dž), no da se uvede posebni znak za slogotvorni ṛ (u riječima kao *ḳrv, g̣rm, p̣rst*, ...)
- da se **jat** ne piše ni po **šulekovskom** (*diete/djeteta*), ni po kačić-karadžićevskom modelu (*dijete/djeteta*), nego kao –je- u svim slučajevima (*djete/djeteta, ljepo, bjelo, cjelo*, ...)
- da se umjesto 4, propišu 3 naglasaka, jer Škarić smatra da je pokusima pokazao da govornici hrvatskoga ne razlikuju kratkosilazni i kratkouzlazni naglasak.
- da se fonem j ne bilježi u riječima stranoga podrijetla (*kemia, dializa, socializam, historia/historiski*, ...)

[https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ivo_%C5%A0kari%C4%87_\(jezikoslovac\)](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ivo_%C5%A0kari%C4%87_(jezikoslovac))

Arguments for and against Serbo-Croatian

2. virtually the same core grammar

Literature the 16th century

Hrvatska
kriješnica

Misal po zakonu
rinskoga dvora

1483

Marko Marulić,
Judita

1501

Marin Držić,
Dundo Maroje

1551

Antun Vramec,
Kronika

1578

17th century



Croatian literature in the 16th century were written:

Čakavian in Split, Hvar and Zadar, **Štokavian** in Dubrovnik
and **Kajkavian** in North West Croatia

Literature from the 17th century

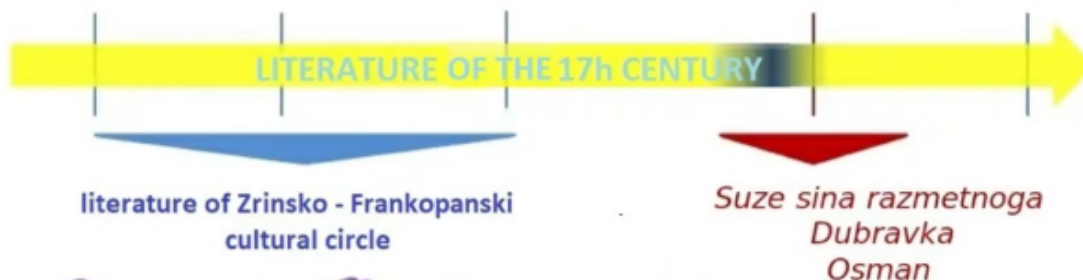
Hrvatska
kriješnica

Petar Zrinski

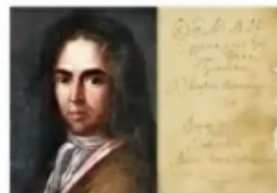
Fran Krsto Katarina Zrinska
Frankopan

Ivan Gundulić
(Mačica)

18th century



Ivan Mažuranić has in the 19th
century written missing chapters
of **Osman** written in the 17th century



Linguistics (the 18th century)

Linguistics activities.

New dictionaries and grammars.

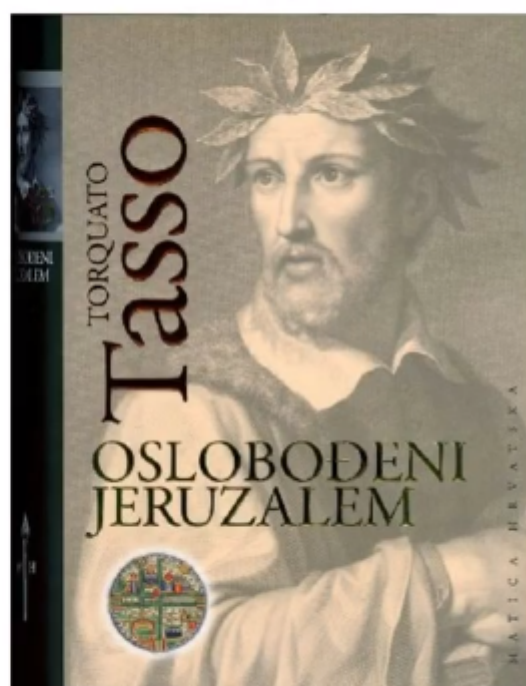
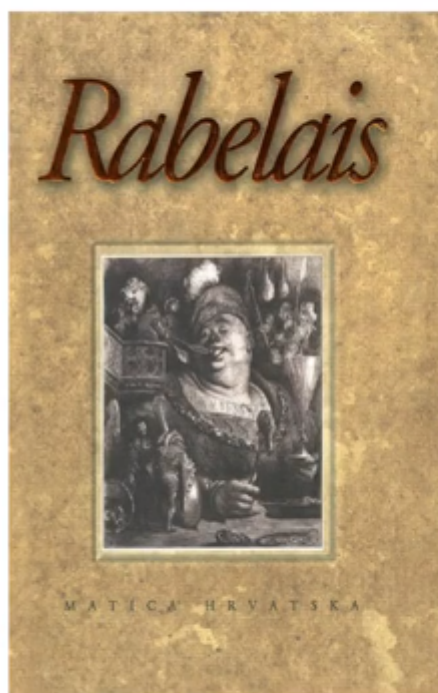
**Ardelio della Bella, Francesco Maria
Appendini and Matija Antun Reljković,**



Matija Antun Reljković

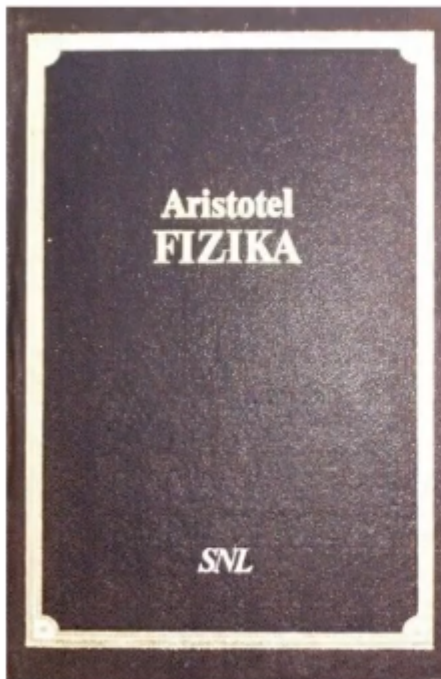
Arguments for and
against Serbo-Croatian

2. virtually the same
core grammar

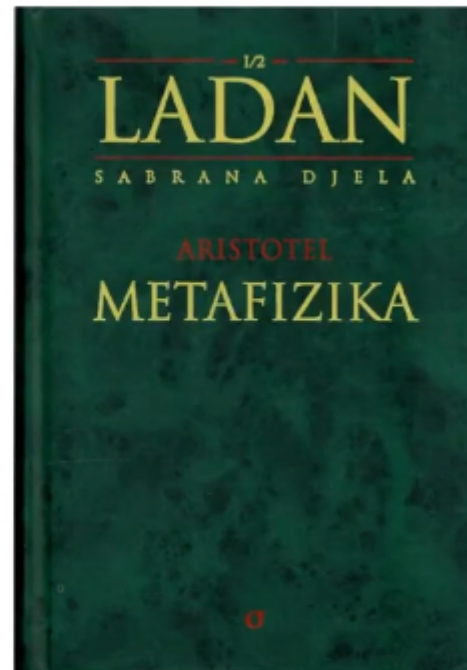


Croatian translations

Arguments for and against Serbo-Croatian



2. virtually the same core grammar



Croatian translations

The third argument is the weakest- a habit or inertia of any scientific community cannot be taken into account seriously when discussing such matters.

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian, Slaveno-Serbian
the same name	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
communication intelligibility	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
the same written corpus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
identity and cultural unity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
standardization at the same place and in the same time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



3. traditionally called "Serbo-Croatian" by the international linguistic community

CONFUSION OF CULTURAL ATTRIBUTION IN THE CASE OF SERBO-CROATIAN

Critics of such an approach in description of a supposedly Serbo-Croatian language pose questions as follows: what to do with almost 1000 years old literary culture of these languages?

Confusions of Cultural Attribution in the case of Serbo-Croatian

	Croatian	Serbian
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian Slavono-Serbian
the same name	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
communication intelligibility		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
the same written corpus	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
identity and cultural unity	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
standardization at the same place and in the same time	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	



Is Baška Tablet, that "jewel of Croatian literacy", 11th or 12th century, also a part of Serbian heritage, or some Serbo-Croatian?



Do the Glagolitic Missal of Duke Novak, 1368, and Hervoye's Missal, 1404, belong to Serbian literacy, too, and is the same with the Saint Sava Nomonkanon, 1219 and Duushan's code, 1349, with regards to Croatian literary heritage? These texts were

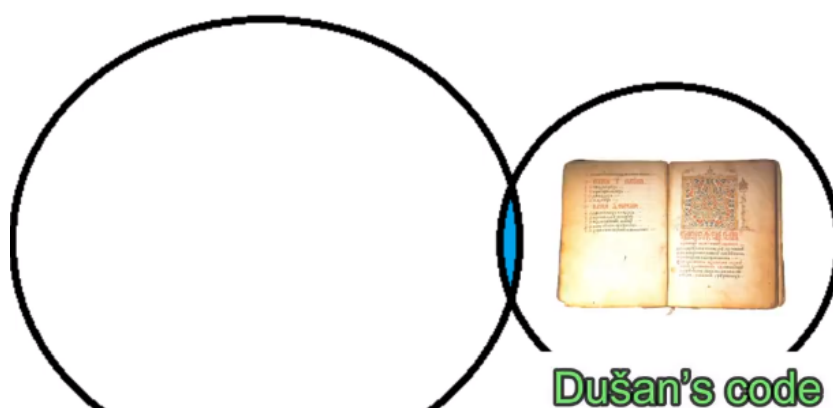
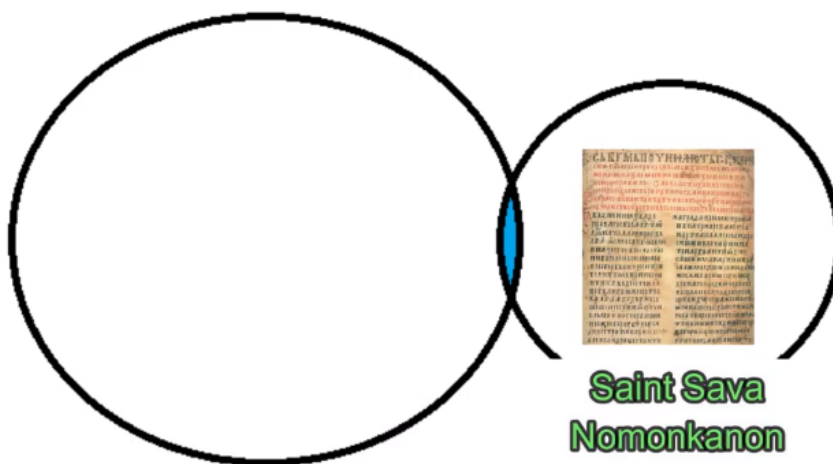
written in Church Slavonic with elements of either Croatian or Serbian vernacular and belong to the Croatian and Serbian recension of Church Slavonic. So far, no one has suggested that some Serbo-Croatian recension ever existed. So, what to do with them? Should they be relegated to oblivion because so called Serbo-Croatian appeared only in the second half of the 19th century, while these texts have nothing “Serbo-Croatian” in them. They are either-or. The same goes for vernacular literacy and literature.



Missal of Duke Novak



Hrvoje's Missal



Serbo-Croatian recension of Church Slavonic?





Confusions of Cultural Attribution in the case of Serbo-Croatian Serbo-Croatian recension of Church Slavonic?

UDK 911.100.72.29
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljen I.VII.2009.
Prihvaćen za tisak 26.X.2009.

RATEG ČNE REFORME

stvom odlučio srpski knji-
zvojni kontinuitet i da mu
ovu osnovicu. Time je htio
usijom i pravoslavne Srbe
nja hrvatskih književnoje-
S. Karadžića Hrvatima je
opisnu i jezičnu kodifika-
dinjenjem Kopitar je kano
dobrim dijelom bila kato-
istriji. Preko nje bi se širio

zika« moraju raspolagati utemeljenim znanjem o pojedinim jezicima i nji-
hovim najvažnijim književnim pojavama (Allgemeines...:688—689). Jedan
od »živih jezika« zove se »ilirski i hrvatski« i za nj je potrebno »poznava-
ti izvrsne dubrovačko-dalmatinske književnike 16. i 17. stoljeća, npr. Gun-
dulića, Palmotića, Zlatarića, Đorđića«. Za jezik koji se zove »srpski«, traži
se pak »poznavanje razlika između temeljnoga jezika i crkvenoslavensko-
ga narječja koje se održava u liturgiji, nadalje poznavanje njegovih najsta-
rijih jezičnih spomenika, tj. srpskih povelja tiskanih u Beogradu i zakoni-
ka Stefana Dušana«. ⁴³

Na str. 173., pod rednim brojem 153. piše: »kaiserliches Patent vom 4. März 1849,
wodurch die Einführung eines allgemeinen Reichs-Gesetz- und Regierungsblattes,
sowie der Landes-Gesetz- und Regierungsblätter angeordnet wird *).«. Tekst te cars-
ke naredbe tu se ne donosi, već se u bilješci upućuje da je isti već tiskan u uvodu na
str. 2—4 (misli se na str. II—IV), gdje je tiskana carska naredba, iza koje na str. V—VII
slijedi dopuna Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i Ministarstva pravosuđa od 2. travnja
1849. s popisom pojedinih jezika.

⁴³ [...] »die Candidaten für die illirische und croatische Sprache [haben] eine Ken-
ntniß der vorzüglichsten ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Schriftsteller des XVI. und
XVII. Jahrhunderts, z. B. Gundulich, Palmotich, Zlatarich, Georgich; die Candidaten
für die serbische Sprache Kenntniß des Unterschiedes zwischen der ihnen angestam-
mten Sprache und der in der Liturgie fortlaufenden kirchenslavischen Mundart, fer-
ner ihrer ältesten Sprachdenkmäler, d. i. der serbischen in Belgrad gedruckten Urkun-
den und des Gesetzbuches von Stephan Dusan nachzuweisen.«, Allgemeines:689.



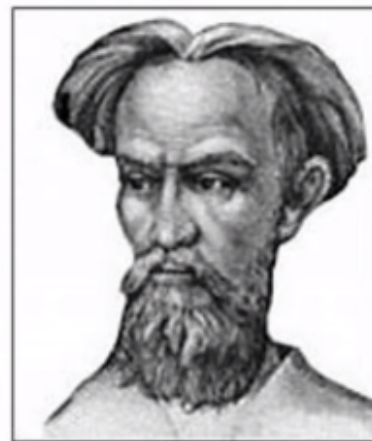
Does Čakavian based Renaissance literary output from Dalmatia, Marulić, Zoranić, Lucić, belong to Serbo-Croatian? If yes, then Serbian part of that syntagm should be completely dismissed, because Serbs don't consider it to be a part of their heritage.



Hanibal Lucić
(1485 - 1553)



Petar Zoranić
(1508 - before 1569)




Marko Marulić
(1450 - 1524)


**Does Čakavian based Renaissance literary output
from Dalmatia belong to Serbo-Croatian?**


But then, what remains of Serbo-Croatian? In the case of Dubrovnik Renaissance literature, written in the mixture of Štokavian and Čakavian, and exclusively in Roman script, does it belong to Serbo-Croatian? If yes, what is characteristically Serbian in it?


Because Serbian literature is, in the 16th century, well defined by its participation in the Byzantine cultural circle and written in Church Slavonic interspersed with Serbian vernacular dialectal characteristics, what is, if that literature is to be considered Serbo-Croatian, what is Croatian in its content, both linguistic and cultural?




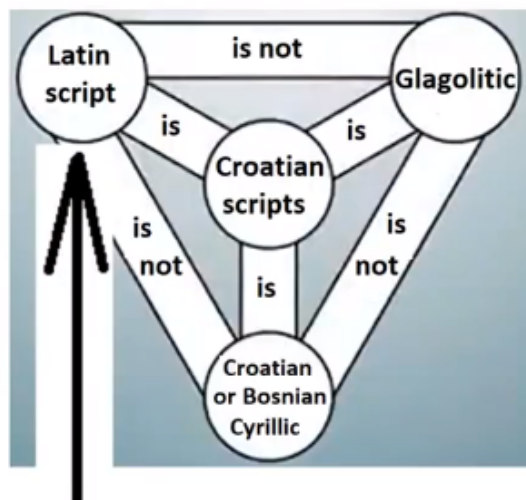
Literature from the 17th century











Great Serbian aggression on Croatia 1991 - 1995 and in the 19th century



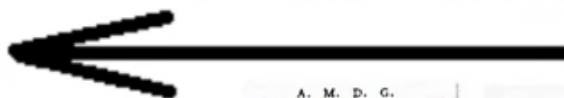


Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1790 Jovan Rajić	Slavono Serbian  1783 Dositej Obradović
Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1349  Saint Sava 1169 - 1236	

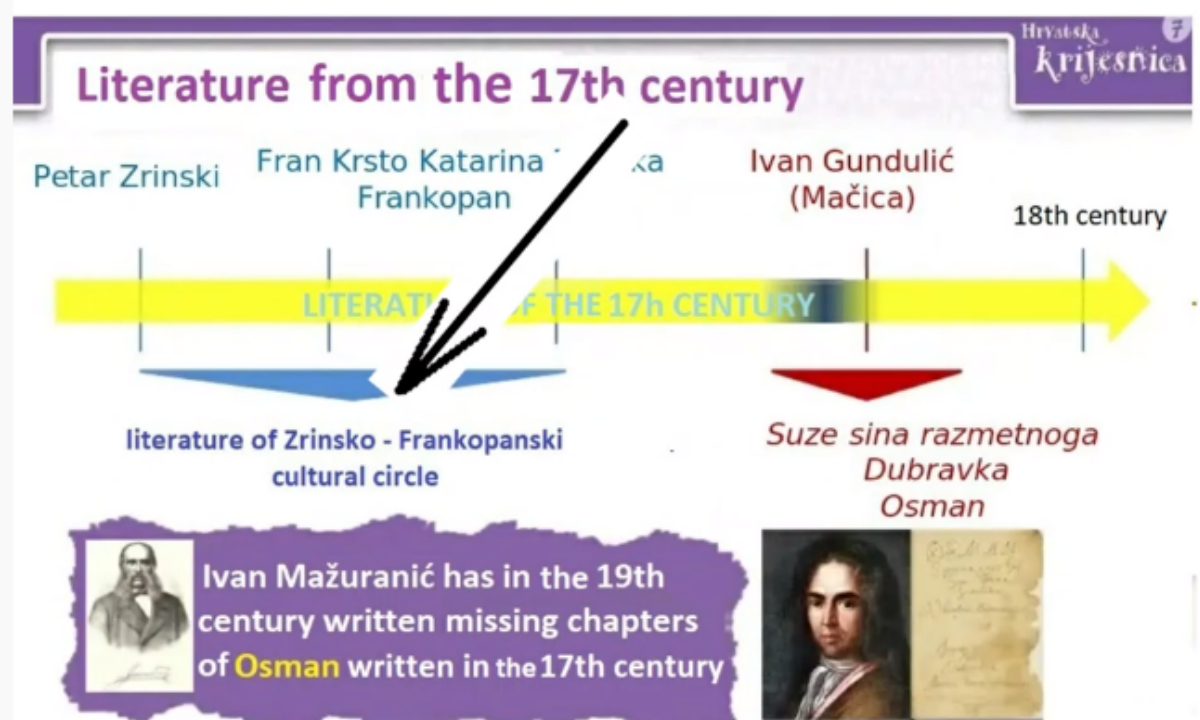
And later, is Kašić's translation of the Bible, 1622 to 1633, a monument of the Serbo-Croatian language? If so, why do Serbs not only marginalize it, but would have nothing to do with it? Does this translation, because of its supposedly Serbo-Croatian nature, also belong to Serbian language heritage?

Confusions of Cultural Attribution in the case of Serbo-Croatian

CROATIAN	 1846	Ivan Mažuranić
	 1756	Andrija Kačić Miošić
	 1621	Bartol Kašić
	 1501	Marko Marulić
	 1380 - 1400	Croatian Prayer Book



And what about Kajkavian based literature from the 16th to 18th centuries, or those written in Čakavian-Štokavian-Kajkavian interdialect, as is the case with Croatian Protestant New Testament from 1562, or works of Fran Krsto Frankopaa, 1671?



BIBLE in CROATIAN vernacular (1562)

Čakavian-Štokavian-Kajkavian interdialect reprint

Afterword to the Reprint of the Glagolitic New Testament [1562] [1563]
 Pogovor uz pretisak glagoljičkoga Novoga testamenta [1562] [1563.]
 (Original printed in Latin script) (Reprinted in Latin script)

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AMEN. THE FIRST PART OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING ALL FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCURATELY TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY ANTUN DALMATIN AND STIPAN ISTRANIN, WITH THE HELP OF OTHER BRETHREN, FROM MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES INTO PLAIN, UNDERSTANDABLE, EVERYDAY CROATIAN LANGUAGE.

(in Glagolitic script)

PART ONE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING ALL FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCURATELY TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY ANTUN DALMATIN AND STIPAN ISTRANIN, WITH THE HELP OF OTHER BRETHREN, FROM MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES INTO PLAIN, UNDERSTANDABLE, EVERYDAY CROATIAN LANGUAGE.

Der erst halb Theil des neuen Testaments / darinn sein die vier Evangelisten / und der Apostel Geschichte / jetzt zum ersten mal in die Croatische Sprach verdolmetscht / vnd mit Glagolischen Buchstaben gedruckt.

(in Gothic script)

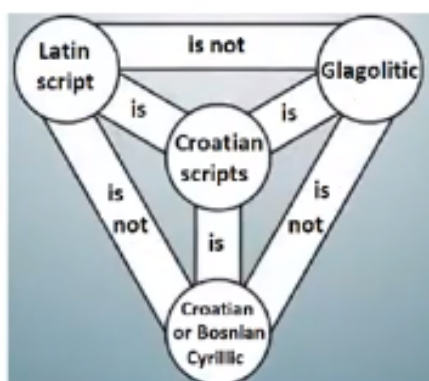
Part one of the New Testament, containing all four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, translated for the first time into Croatian and printed in Glagolitic script.

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AMEN. THE FIRST PART OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING ALL FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCURATELY TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY ANTUN DALMATIN AND STIPAN ISTRANIN, WITH THE HELP OF OTHER BRETHREN, FROM MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES INTO PLAIN, UNDERSTANDABLE, EVERYDAY CROATIAN LANGUAGE.

(in Glagolitic script)

Written in Tübingen, Anno Domini 1562.

https://www.academia.edu/25680379/Od_poticaja_i_priprema_do_glagoljic_koga_Novoga_testamenta_1562_1563_Pogovor_uz_pretisak_glagoljic_koga_Novoga_testamenta_Afterword_to_the_Reprint_of_the_Glagolitic_New_Testament?email_work_card=view-paper



Croatian books were printed in both Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin script

Primož Trubar (1508-1586.) about Cyrillic and Glagolitic scripts, "zweyerley crobatischen Geschrifften"

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AMEN. THE FIRST PART OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING ALL FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCURATELY TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY ANTUN DALMATIN AND STIPAN ISTRANIN, WITH THE HELP OF OTHER BRETHREN, FROM MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES INTO PLAIN, UNDERSTANDABLE, EVERYDAY CROATIAN LANGUAGE.

(in Glagolitic script)

PART ONE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING ALL FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCURATELY TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY ANTUN DALMATIN AND STIPAN ISTRANIN, WITH THE HELP OF OTHER BRETHREN, FROM MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES INTO PLAIN, UNDERSTANDABLE, EVERYDAY CROATIAN LANGUAGE.

Der erst halb Theil des neuen Testaments / darinn sein die vier Evangelisten / und der Apostel Geschichte / jetzt zum ersten mal in die Croatische Sprach verdolmetscht / vnd mit Glagolischen Buchstaben gedruckt.

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Part one of the New Testament, containing all four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, translated for the first time into Croatian and printed in Glagolitic script.




IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AMEN. THE FIRST PART OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING ALL FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCURATELY TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY ANTUN DALMATIN AND STIPAN ISTRANIN, WITH THE HELP OF OTHER BRETHREN, FROM MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES INTO PLAIN, UNDERSTANDABLE, EVERYDAY CROATIAN LANGUAGE.

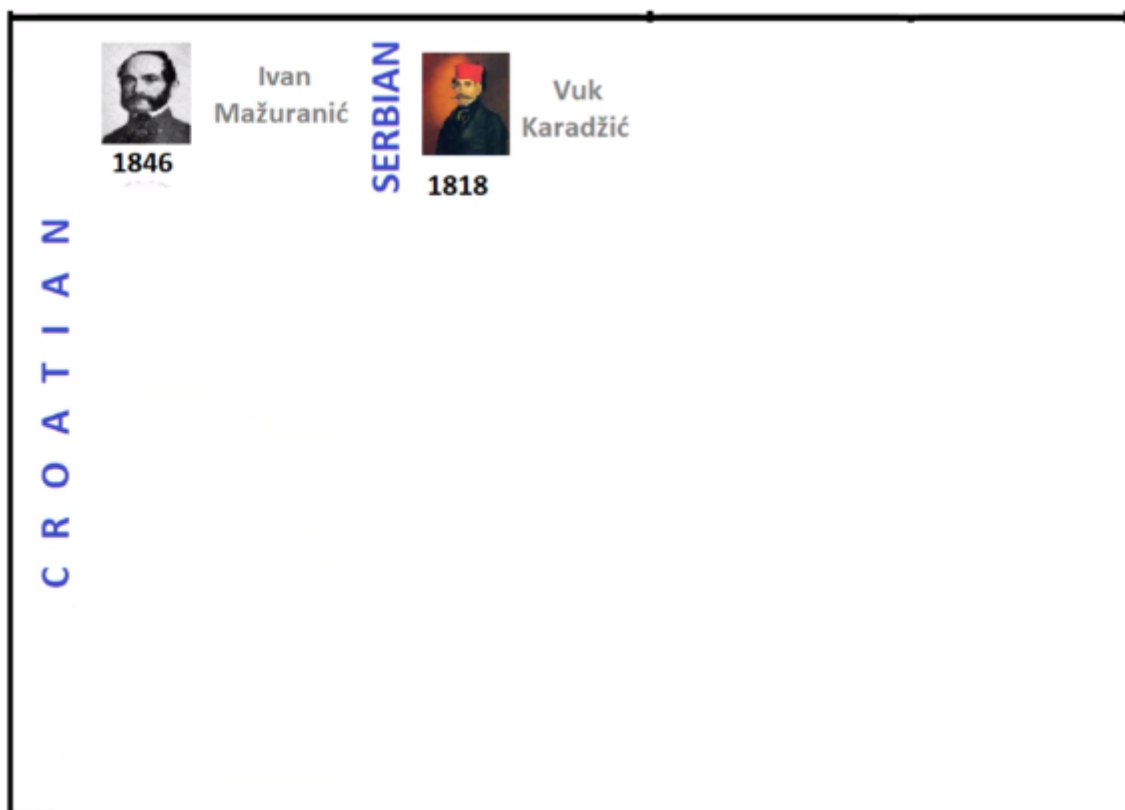
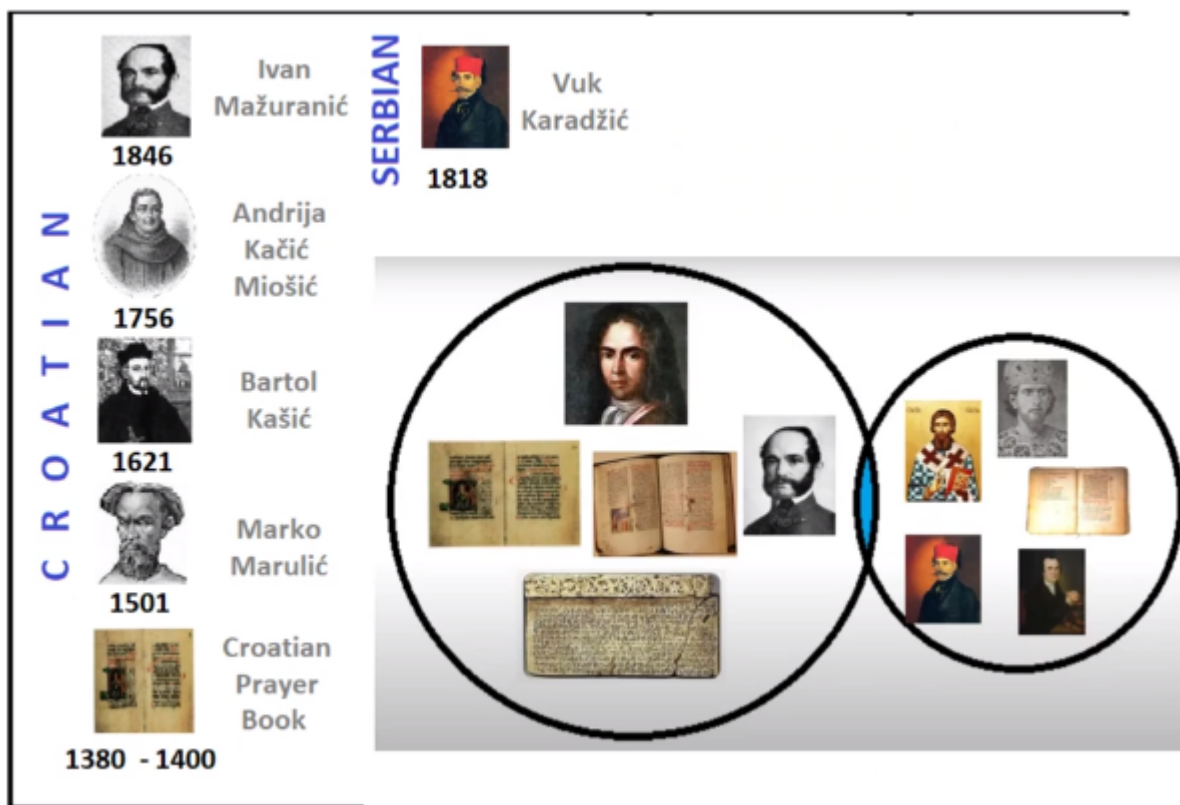
(in Glagolitic script)

Written in Tübingen, Anno Domini 1562.

IDEOLOGY OF SERBO-CROATISM

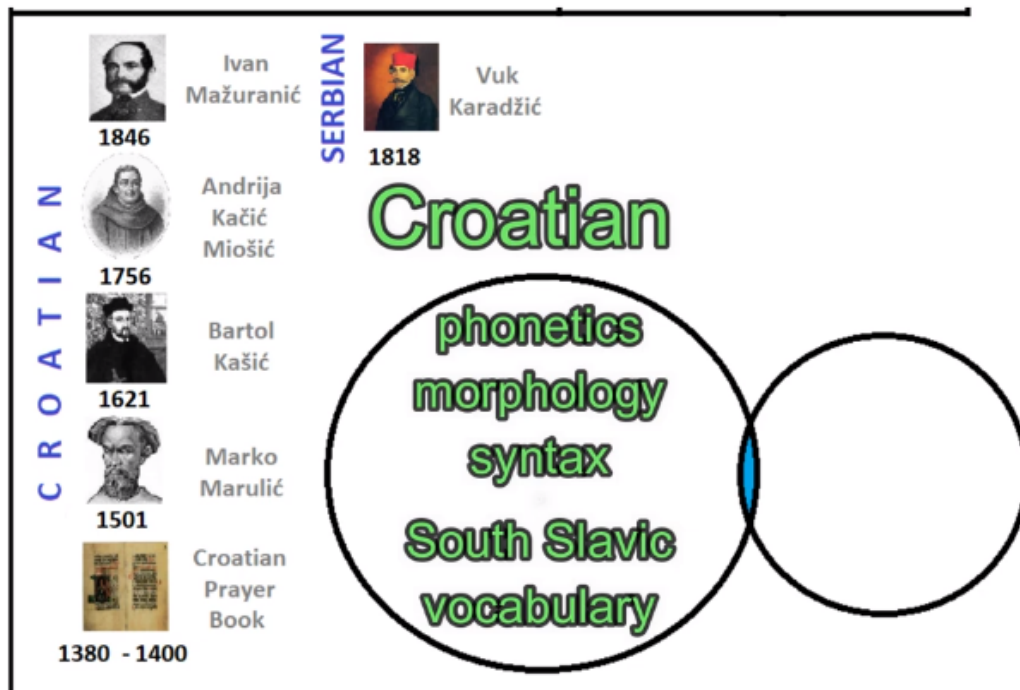
Proponents of Serbo-Croatian ideology should, thus, completely dismiss centuries of Croatian and Serbian literary cultures, because they do not mix at all. Serbo-Croatism as ideology should then claim that a unified Serbo-Croatian language has appeared somewhere in the second half of the 19th century out of blue and based on rural Shtokavian idioms. That would amount to denying historicity of both Croatian and Serbian languages, a complete historical nihilism not seen anywhere in the world.

CROATIAN	 1846	SERBIAN	 1818
	 1756		
	 1621		
	 1501		
	 1380 - 1400		
		Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic	
		 1790	Slaveno Serbian  1783 Dositej Obradović
		Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic	
		 1349	Dušan's Code
		 1169 - 1236	Saint Sava



It is true that Karadžić's reform had brought Serbian language closer to the Croatian, but that Croatian had had 400 years old literary tradition by then and had possessed, in its corpus, all Karadžić's solutions from phonetics to morphology, syntax and South Slavic vocabulary, Serbian script being the only Karadžić's innovation in Serbian language in

comparison with Croatian tradition. Serbo-Croatian ideologists should then call this language Croatian, and Croatian only, because it contains Karadžić's basic Serbian as a subset. Which, of course, is absurdity considering the meanders of Serbian literary culture. And the level of closeness does not mean complete fusion in which all traces of prior separate existences have been obliterated. In short, standard language thus defined does not exist anywhere in the world and has never existed.



Croatian dominant literary heritage until 1800	Serbian dominant literary heritage until 1800
 <p>Joakim Stulli 1805</p>  <p>Ivan Belostenec 1740</p>  <p>Juraj Habelić 1670</p>  <p>Matija Divković 1611</p>  <p>Marin Držić 1551</p>  <p>Matija Antun Relković 1767</p>  <p>Ardelio Della Bella 1728</p>  <p>Bartol Kašić 1621</p>  <p>Dinko Zlatarić 1597</p>	 <p>Jovan Rajić 1790</p>  <p>Aleksije Vezilić 1785</p>  <p>Zaharije Orfelin 1783</p>  <p>Dositej Obradović 1783</p>

Croatian linguists and other Slavicists have elaborated on various aspects of modern standard Croatian and have developed numerous theoretical models. We shall address only those works that deal with Croatian-Serbian classification confusion and omit those who ignore Serbian language history, dealing with it marginally only in those areas where this language, due to Croatian neo-grammarians' delusions and imposition during both Yugoslav states, had interfered with Croatian standard language's natural development, natural meaning following its own, and not other languages' linguistic and cultural traits and traditions.



Dalibor Brozović Leopold Auburger

Dalibor Brozović's work *"Sociolinguistics versus genetic and typological linguistics"*, 1996, although not addressing Serbian language, critically analyzes some delusions of Croatian neo-grammarians. According to him, only sociolinguistics is relevant in dealing with standard languages, and only. From the summary, quotation, *"Genetic linguistics deals with family relations between idioms, i. e., between languages and dialects, while typological linguistics deals with inner structural relations within a particular idiom and compares them with each other. The facts in each of these linguistics do not have value of arguments in another; not to mention sociolinguistics which deals with the nature of particular idioms in connection with their respective speech communities. Of course, sociolinguistic facts are of no value for other two kinds of linguistics. All these relations are exemplified by the role of sound yat in Croatian and other (South)Slavonic languages"*, end of quotation.

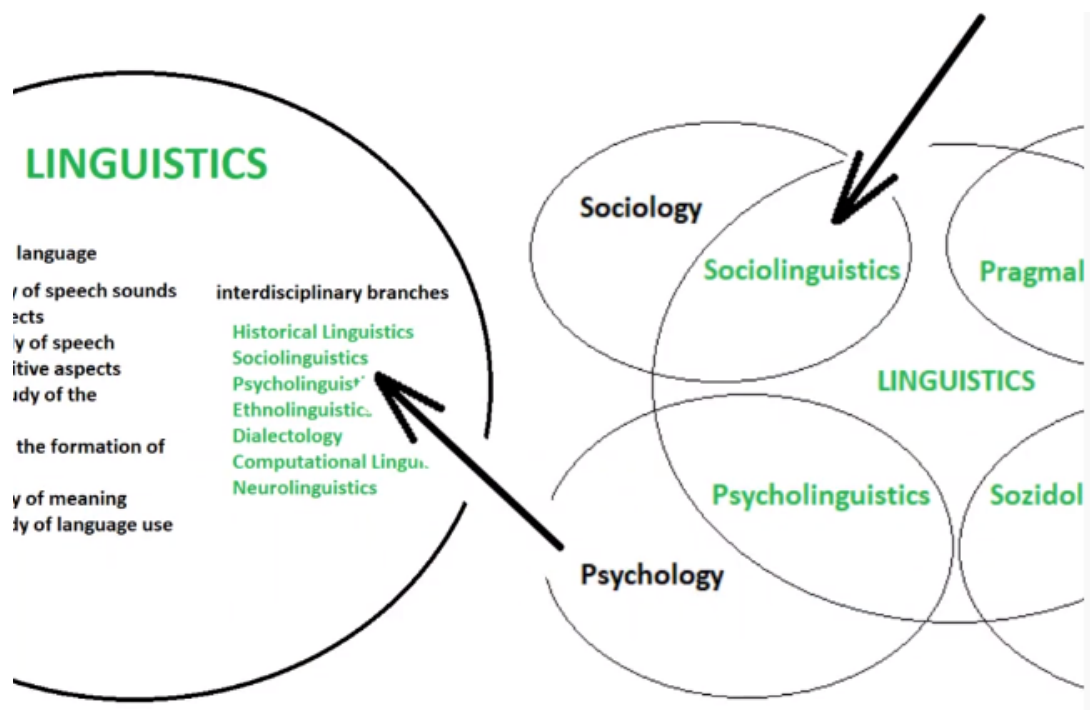
Dalibor Brozović
Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb



Sociolingvistika prema genetskoj i tipološkoj lingvistici

Genetska lingvistika proučava srodničke odnose među idiomima, to jest među jezicima i među dijalektima, a tipološka lingvistika proučava unutarnje strukturne odnose u pojedinome idiomu te uspoređuje takve odnose. Činjenice iz jedne od tih lingvistika nemaju vrijednosti argumenata u drugoj, a još manje u sociolingvistici, koja proučava prirodu pojedinih idioma u vezi s njihovim nositeljskim kolektivima. Naravno, ni činjenice iz sociolingvistike ne vrijede u drugim dvjema lingvistikama. Svi ti odnosi osvjetljuju se na primjeru uloge glasa jat (ě)

"Sociolinguistics versus genetic and typological linguistics", 1996, Dalibor Brozović



*The facts in each of these linguistics
do not have value of arguments
in another;*



*Of course, sociolinguistic facts
are of no value for other two
kinds of linguistics.*

**"Sociolinguistics versus genetic and typological
linguistics", 1996, Dalibor Brozović**

German Slavicist Leopold Auburger's approach is a bit different. He explicitly addresses Serbo-Croatian language ideology, including not only "naked" standard language facts, but also political, historical and ideological motivation that resulted in selection of particular morphosyntactic and lexical features, while consciously dismissing inconvenient ones, all in the name of Serbo-Croatian ideology of potential fusion of Croatian and Serbian.

Ideology of Serbo-Croatism



From the recension, quotation, "Auburger introduces historiography, philosophy, theology, sociology, anthropology, culturology, ethnology, and psychology into his linguistic synthesis through a discourse imbued with the author's personal pursuit of scientific truth. His philological competence broadly extends to the history and theory of literature, which

is especially evident in comparative Slavic considerations and conclusions. Operating with more or less known facts, a multitude of data and a wide range of other and different opinions, Auburger unhesitatingly unmasks the ideological, dogmatic basis of Serbo-Croatianism, demystifies it as a linguistically respectable phenomenon and sheds a whole new light on developmental paths in Croatian history language. The meticulousness with which he contextualizes key historical moments and phenomena leaves no blurred places for questions about the motives and goals of Serbo-Croatianism and Serbo-Croatistics. It precisely defines the problem and sets it on clearly established theoretical foundations. He connects all the emic (emic) elements of the mosaic with great erudition, which reveals the essence of the permanently tense relationship between the Croatian language and Serbo-Croatianism", end of quotation.

FILOLOGIJA 55, Zagreb 2010

HRVATSKI JEZIK I SERBOKROATIZAM ILI CAR JE GOL

Leopold Auburger:
Hrvatski jezik i serbokroatizam.
Maveda i HFDR, Rijeka, 2009., 304 st



Knjiga njemačkoga slavista i kroatista Leopolda Auburgera *Hrvatski jezik i serbokroatizam* (Maveda i Hrvatsko filološko društvo Rijeka, 2009.), objavljena u prijevodu N. Palašić i samoga autora dugih deset godina na-

**"Croatian language and Serbocroatism or
Emperor is naked", recension, FILOLOGIJA 55, 2010.**

Following this type of approach, although a professional linguist and Slavist, Auburger has exposed poverty of linguistic reductionism that has dominated, and in some parts still dominates, the field of South Slavic languages studies. In these cases, older generation Slavists' position is similar to embarrassment Plato had suffered in a situation described by Diogenes Laërtius. Namely, when Plato gave the definition of man as "featherless bipeds" Cynic philosopher Diogenes plucked a chicken and brought it into Plato's Academy, saying,

"Behold! I've brought you a man."

Ideology of Serbo-Croatism



"Behold! I've brought you a man."

Serbo-Croatian is Kajkavless and Čakavless Croatian

man is featherless bipeds



Kajkavless and Čakavless Croatian



Kajkavless and Čakavless Croatian

SOURCES

The content of this video is in accordance with the descriptions of the history of the Croatian language, and to a lesser extent of other, related languages, such as those found in the works of philologists, linguists and Slavicists Krunoslav Krstić, Radoslav Katičić, Dalibor Brozović, Stjepan Babić, Josip Lisac, Dragica Malić, Branka Tafra, Dubravka Sesar, Mario Grčević, Leopold Auburger and Barbara Oczkova.

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PART ONE here, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRVkbOsitwg>